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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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The present volume is edited by Mr. Charles W. Sutton.

55152

Stephen Spaulding's.
Lambswick
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NOTES ON THE EARLY BOOKSELLERS AND STATIONERS OF MANCHESTER PRIOR TO THE YEAR 1700.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

IN this paper I am desirous of putting on record what little is known of the booksellers and stationers of Manchester in the seventeenth century. Considering how important their trade was, I must confess, at the outset, that I am much disappointed at the meagre information which is at present forthcoming about them. Unfortunately, although the Manchester Court Leet Records deal with many thousands of persons of all ranks, there is not, as far as my recollection serves me, any mention of any bookseller or stationer as such. That is to say, there is no mention of their trade; and had it not been for other sources of information, we should not have known the names of those who were the providers of the current literature of the period to the inhabitants of Manchester and the neighbourhood. Again, too, although I have copies of many hundreds of deeds relating to Manchester, I do not know of one in which any of the parties are termed booksellers or stationers. Newcome's *Diary* and *Autobiography* are also, strange to say, singularly free from any references to them, and there is only one mention of a local bookseller in Martindale's *Life*.

I have had the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office, London, carefully searched for any petitions, &c., to the Privy Council for permission to establish the trade of a bookseller or stationer in Manchester, and here, too, the the result is almost nil. During the long reign of Elizabeth, and during that of James I., there is no trace of any Manchester bookseller, and it is only in the time of Charles I. that the petition of Thomas Smith, subsequently to be given, is met with. This, too, is undated, and it is only by outside knowledge that its probable date can be ascertained. Again, too, quite recently, there has been found at the Probate Court, Chester, the most interesting inventory of a Warrington stationer, who died in 1648, in which every book that he had in stock is most carefully entered, and which supplies us with a very graphic picture of a country stationer's shop in the middle of the seventeenth century. This inventory has been copied in full, and has recently been printed by the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. But what is vouchsafed to us in the case of Warrington is unfortunately withheld from us in the case of Manchester. Of the ten Manchester booksellers, who lived in the town between the years 1600 and 1700, I can only find the inventory of the goods and chattels of one, and that, although very interesting, is, as far as his stock in trade is concerned, comprised in a very few lines.

Still it is very desirable to put on record all the information, which can be collected, regarding the early Manchester booksellers and stationers, so that it may be at hand in case other information about them, or any of them, ever comes to light. I am also anxious to draw up as complete lists as I can of all the books, tracts, pamphlets, sermons, &c., to which the name of any of these early Manchester booksellers is attached, and I shall be glad to have any additions which can be made to the lists of such works here given.

In nearly every case these works are of local interest, and are also of considerable rarity, so that calling attention to them may be the means of assisting members of this Society in other researches.

It was not until after I had offered to read this paper to the Society that I was reminded of what has been printed about the Manchester booksellers by the late Mr. R. W. Procter, in his *Memorials of Manchester Streets*, in 1874. This I had read at the time, but had subsequently overlooked, but I think much additional information to what is there given will be found in the following pages. I would express my thanks to Mr. John Owen, of Stockport, who has sent me all the entries from the Manchester registers, and to Mr. C. W. Sutton, of the Free Library, and Mr. J. E. Tinkler, of the Chetham Library, who both attach much importance to the preservation of all local works, and who are both so thoroughly familiar with the fine collections of which they are in charge. Thanks are also due to Mr. W. H. Allnutt, of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for many interesting notes.

(1) JOHN BROWNE—died 1612.

The earliest Manchester bookseller or stationer of whom we have any record is JOHN BROWNE, who was living in Manchester in the early part of the seventeenth century, in the time of James I. Of him, unfortunately, we know but little. His name occurs in the Court Leet Records, between the years 1601 to 1610, as having been appointed to various offices in connection with the Court Leet at the Michaelmas Courts. It is noteworthy that most of these offices are in connection with Smithy Door, and it is a probable conjecture that his shop existed there. He would appear to have died somewhat suddenly and probably at an early age, as the entry of his burial in the Manchester registers is in the same year as the baptism of his daughter Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, the daughter of John Browne, baptized - - 1612
John Browne, of Manchester, Stationer, buried May 10th, 1612

There is no will now preserved at Chester, but from the inventory of his effects, still preserved there, we gather a few interesting items. He had a house full of furniture and two shops, in which he dealt in all kinds of stationery, bound books, and sold spectacle cases and pictures.

"14th May, 1612. The inventory of all the goods and chattells of John Browne, late of Manchester, Stationer, deceased, praised by us whose names are hereunder written . . .

"In bothe Shops.

"In Bookes, in parchment; cornets, pen and inckhornes, mapps, Pictures, shelves, chests, spectackle cases, pastboards, presse, plowe, cuttinge knives, boxes, a stoole & cheare, clasps, Ballance, Hamers, Iron pyns, Barells & bealinge stone
lx^{li} xviij^{s} ix^{d} [£60. 18s. 9d.]

Debts due to the testator as appeareth by his Debtbooke } xliij^{li} xij^{d} [£43. os. 12d.]

The whole sum of this inventory } cxxv^{li} xix^{s} i^{d} [£125. 19s. 1d.]

(Signed) Rich. Learoyde clericus
Roger Worthenton
Hughe Pendilton his marke
Charles Leigh [the] younger.

Exhibited 30th July, 1612. 1612."

(2) WILLIAM SHELMERDINE.

The next Manchester bookseller and stationer is WILLIAM SHELMERDINE, whose name occurs in the registers in 1619 and subsequent years—

"1619. William, son of William Shelmerdine, stationer, baptized.
"1620. Ralph, son of William Shelmerdine, stationer, baptized and others."

I find him also mentioned as "William Shelmerdine, stationer," in 1624 as one of the witnesses to the will of Ralph Crompton, "Mr. of Arts and phisitian" of Manchester, which was made in that year.

The name of William Shelmerdine occurs very frequently in the Court Leet Records from 1616 to 1640, but I am not quite clear whether these entries refer to one or more individuals of that name, or if all or any of them relate to our "stationer." At any rate, we must suppose he remained in the town and continued to practise his trade till the year 1654, when his burial occurs.

"1653[-4]. William Shelmerdine of Manchester, stationer, buried ffebruary 20th."

I have not succeeded in finding his will or any grant of letters of administration, although search has been made for both in London, where all the wills so proved during the Commonwealth are now preserved. No publications to which his name is attached are known to me, and there is some little doubt whether he continued to practise his trade in Manchester from 1616 to 1654. These doubts are occasioned by a statement in a petition of the third Manchester bookseller and stationer, Thomas Smith, who declares that "there had been a Bookseller formerly in the towne of Manchester, but [who] by his misdemeanours ran himself so deeply into men's debts that he was forced to depart." As this petition was drawn up *c.* 1635, I cannot see to whom it can apply except to William Shelmerdine.

(3) THOMAS SMITH.

Sometime in the reign of Charles I., about 1635 to 1640, the third Manchester bookseller and stationer appears to have established himself in the town. He presented a petition to the Lords of the Privy Council, which is now preserved amongst the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office, London (Vol. 188, No. 68), but unfortunately no date is attached to it, and the "Letters Testimoniall" to which he refers are not now to be found with it. From this document it appears that he had come all the way from Barn-

staple, in Devonshire, where he had been a bookseller for some four or five years, and that having stocked his shop in Manchester with all sorts of Latin and English books, allowed to be sold by authority, he had gained the custom both of the town and country. This petition is as follows:—

"The humble Petition of Thomas Smith humbly sheweth—that whereas your Petitioner hath been a bookseller this foure or five yeeres in the towne of Barnstaple, and haueing not sufficient tradeing there to mainteine himself and his charge, remooued from thence to the towne of Manchester (where there had beene a Bookseller formerly, but by his misdemeanours ran himself so deeply into men's debts that he was forced to depart), where your Petitioner hath soe behaued himself and furnished the place wth all sorts of Latine and English bookes allowed by authority to be sold, that he hath gayned y^{e} Custome both of Towne and Countrey. May it therefore please yo^{r} Wor^{p} to take the premises into your consideration, and giue yo^{r} Petitioner (whose Conformity to o^{r} discipline & sufficiency in y^{e} Trade is certeyfyed by Letters Testimoniall), such incouragem^{t} that he may continue there in his Trade dureing his good behauiour; and your Petitioner, his wife and children, shall eu^{r} be bound to pray for your Wor^{pps} long life & happinesse."

Thomas Smith was clearly settled in Manchester in 1637, in which year the following entry occurs in the Registers:—

"1637 [-8] Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Smith, buckbinder, buried January 9th."

There are a few entries in the Court Leet Records referring to a person or persons of his two names, but there is nothing to connect them with the stationer. He, however, died in 1654, and was buried in the church or churchyard of the Collegiate Church, and a few months later his wife followed him.

"1653[-4] Thomas Smith, of Manchester, stationer, buried ffebruary, 27th.

"1654 Dorothie, wife of Thomas Smith, of Manchester, stationer, buried August 29th."

Mr. John Owen discovered some years ago the fragments of Thomas Smith's tombstone, which has since then entirely vanished.

HERE RESTETH THE BODY [OF]
THOMAS SMITH OF MANC[HESTER]
[B]OOKSELLER, WHO WAS [BURIED]
THE 27TH DAY OF [FEBRUARY]
[AÑO DOM] 1653

The wills of Thomas and Dorothy Smith are preserved in London, and they throw some little light on their personal history. They had no children living at the time of their death, and the husband left everything, except a few small legacies, to his wife; and she, in a similar manner, left everything, some few legacies excepted, to her brother, Mr. Charles Cockayne, of London. They both of them refer to Mr. Richard Heyrick, the ejected warden of the Collegiate Church, and to Mr. Richard Hollinworth, another well-known Manchester clergyman, author of *Mancuniensis* and other works. The following is a full copy of Mr. Thomas Smith's will (which is comparatively short), and an abstract of that of his widow:—

Will of Mr Thomas Smith [of Manchester], Stationer. 1654.

The last will and testament of Mr Thomas Smith, Stationer, dated the 13° ffebruary 1653[-4]

"Imprimis beinge in pfect memory & understandinge I doe bequeathe & resigne upp my Soule to God the ffather God the Sonne & God the Holy Ghost beleevinge to be Saved through the Meritts and Mediation of the lord Jesus Christ. And my body to be buried at the discrecon of my Executors hereafter named which I beleeve by virtue of my union with Christ shall be raysed up agayne att the last day. And I doe ffreely and heartily gyve to my wyfe Dorothy Smith all the estate I have in the world reall and personall my debts and necessary ffunerall expences beinge deducted and other legacyes hereafter expressed beinge paid viz. I give to Mr Richard Heyrick one of the pastors att the church in

Manchester three pounds. Item to M^r^ Richard Hollinworth the other Pastor there fourty shillings. Item I Gyve to the poore of Manchester ffourty shillings of which a Marke to the common ordinary poore—the rest to Godly people at the discrecõn of my Execu^ts^ Item I havinge had a sister who hath three daughters one living in London & two at Namptwich I gyve them three poundes a peece. Item my said sisters three sonnes, brothers to the daughters above named, I Gyve to them Twelve pence a peece. Item I gyve to my Cozen Annes husband, one of the daughters above named, my best suite and Clothe and Cloake and to my cousin Janes sonne, my second Suite. Item I gyve to my maid servant Margarett twenty shillings. Item I leave to William Byrom Executor with my wife a Twenty shillings peece to buy him a Gold ringe with. And I doe appoynt my dear wife Dorothy Smith and William Byrom to bee Executors and my brother in law M^r^ Charles Cockaine of Holborne London and M^r^ Ralph Woollen of Manchester to bee overseers of this my last Will and testament hereunto I set my hand and Seale the ffifteenth day of ffebruary 1653—Thomas Smith."

"Sealed Signed and delieuered in the presence of Richard Heyricke—Ra. Wollen—Wiłłm Byrom—Margarett Howden her mark."

"This Will was proved at Westminster the ffifteenth day of June in the yeare 1654 Before the Judges for Probate of Wills and grantinge of Administracõns lawfully authorized—By the Oathes of Dorothy Smith the Relict and William Byrom Executors named in the said will To whom was committed Administracõn of all and singuler the Goods Chattels and Debts of the said Deceased They beinge first sworne by Commission truly to administer the same."

Will of M^rs^ Dorothy Smith, late wife of M^r^ Thomas Smith of Manchester, deceased. 1655.

The last will & testament of "Mistriss Dorothy Smith" late wife of M^r^ Thomas Smith, of Manchester, deceased, August 24. 1654. "I do bequeath & resign my Soul &c. and my body to be buried in Manchester Church near my husband." "As concerning my estate of goods, I do out of it freely give to Margarett Ayne, daughter of my sister Margarett Ayne the sum of £60;" "to my

brother Oliver Cockaine £20;" "to Mr Richard Heyrick one of the pastors at Manchester 40s.;" "to Mr Richard Hollingworth another of the Pastors there 30s.;" "to my sister Hayne one piece of scarlet stuff and silver and gold lace for a petticoat;" "to Alice Davy a petticoat and wastcoat;" "to my maid Anna my best Cloth petticoat with lace silke and silver;" "to Mrs Walker, widow, 20s.;" "to Alice Davy of Manchester 20s.;" "to Susan Hilton of the same 20s.;" "to Prudence Oldham of the same 20s.;" "to Abel Grogram, grocer, Richard Clayton, William Whittle, John Martindale, and Francis Carter all of Manchester 20s. each;" also 40s. to the poor of Manchester, "to be disposed of at the discretion of Mr William Byrom the present overseer of the poor;" "to the said William Byrom 20s.;" "to Mr Ralph Woollen of Manchester 20s.;" "to my man Joseph Heape to be disposed of by my brother Mr Charles Cockayne of London the reversion of his time when and where he can fitly place him, else I make him free, and order his Indentures to be delivered in, and give him £8 of the £10 my husband had with him;" "Item I do order and appoint £10. 3s. to be paid to Mr William Byrom, executor of my late husband's will within one month after my decease by my executor, which is to discharge certain legacies given by my said husband in his will and yet unpaid; viz. to three daughters of my husband's sister, deceased, £3 each, whereof two are at Namptwich and one at London, and to their three brothers 12d. each, and 20s. to himself, else my will is that he take into his own custody in the presence of Mr Ralph Woollen so much of any the Leave in this shop or house as shall satisfy him for the said sum." "Item I give to Mrs Elizabeth Radcliffe a book sent me of all Mr Loves works;" "to Mrs Elizabeth Bradshawe 'Moses Choyce,' a book of that title;" "to Mrs Alice Hartly Dr Taylors Sermons in folio;" "to Mrs Rebeccha Byrom my couch Chayre & another Chair." "I leave it to the discretion of Mr Ralph Woollen and William Byrom or either of them to make provision for all charges at my funeral, to be paid out of my goods, and I desire them at my death to take care of my goods both in the house and shop until my executor have notice, whom I hereby appoint to be my loving brother Mr Charles Cockayne of London, and to whom I give all the reversion of my estate and goods real and personal (the several legacies in my above said will being paid and satisfied)." "I desire Mr Ralph

Woollen and William Byrom to be overseers of my will." Dated 24 Aug. 1654.

Witnesses—Ann Barnard
Edward Byrom Junior.

Proved at London the 7th of March 1654[-5] by Charles Cockaine.

The name of Thomas Smith is the first Manchester bookseller to be found on the title pages of any publications. Several of the pamphlets and tracts published during the Civil War and the Commonwealth periods appear to have had two title pages, the one in which the name of the London printer and publisher alone was given, and the other in which the local bookseller's or agent's name also appears. As far as I can ascertain, the earliest example of this, as far as Manchester is concerned, is on the title page of the rare and well-known "Lancashires Valley of Achor is Englands Doore of Hope," believed to have been written by the celebrated John Angier, of Denton, and printed in 1643, some copies of which bear this imprint:—

"London: Printed for Luke Fawne, and are to be sold by *Thomas Smith* at his shop in Manchester, 1643."

Among the letters forming the correspondence of Henry Bradshawe, of Wybersley and Marple, the elder brother of the Lord President Bradshawe, is one dated 1651 addressed to Thomas Smith, as follows (Watson MSS. (Bodleian Library), vol. xij. fol. 12*b*):—

Sr I pray you bind me vpp those two Bookes herewth sent you, wth what convenient speed may be, in Blewe leather, if you have itt, if not Redd and do them carefullie and well, and so soone as they are bound, either send them me by a trustie messenger or certifie me when they are done & returne yor present answere by the Bearer vnto

Yor well wishinge ffrend
H[ENRY] B[RADSHAWE.]

Wyberlegh
28° 4th Mens.
1651.

ffor Mr Thomas Smith
Stationer att Manchester.

The following books are found bearing Thomas Smith's name. The letters after each book show the local collections in which copies are now preserved: Chet. Lib., the Chetham Library; F.L., the Manchester Free Library; J. P. E., my own collection; Bodl., the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Lancashires Valley of Achor is Englands Doore of Hope. . .

London: Printed for Luke Fawne and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at his Shop in Manchester, 1643. Sm. 4to.

Chet. Lib., F.L. (no Manch. imprint), J. P. E. (ditto), Bodl. (ditto).

An Examination of Sundry Scriptures . . . By R. Hollingworth, M.A. of Magd. Col. Camb.

London, Printed by J. R. for Tho. Smith, and are to be sold at his Shop at Manchester, 1645. Sm. quarto.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E., all with Manch. imprint, Bodl. (without).

Queen Esthers Resolves . . . Opened in a Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at the Monethly Fast, May 27, 1646. By Richard Heyricke, Warden of Christs Colledge in Manchester in Lancashire, and one of the Assembly of Divines.

London, Printed for Luke Fawne, and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at his shop in Manchester, 1646. Sm. 4to.

Chet. Lib. (with Manchester imprint), F.L. (without Manchester imprint), J. P. E. (with Manchester imprint), Bodl. (without).

Certain Queres modestly (though plainly) Propounded to such as affect the Congregational-way, and specially to Master Samuel Eaton and Mr. Timothy Taylor . . . By Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniensis.

London, Printed by Ruth Raworth for Thomas Smith, and are to be sold at his Shop in Manchester, 1646. Sm. 4to.

Chet. Lib., F.L.; the latter copy was Hollinworth's own, with MS. additions and alterations in his handwriting, Bodl. (without).

The deliberate Resolution of the Ministers of the Gospel within the County Palatine of Lancaster . . .

London, Printed for Luke Fawne, and are to be sold by Thomas Smith, at his Shop in Manchester, 1647. Sm. 4to.

Chet. Lib.

The Paper called the Agreement of the People taken into

Consideration and The Lawfulness of Subscription to it Examined and Resolved in the Negative by the Ministers of Christ in the Province of Lancaster . . .

London: Printed for Luke Fawne and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at his Shop in Manchester, 1649. Quarto.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E.

A Solemn Exhortation made and published to the several Churches of Christ within this Province of Lancaster . . . By the Provincial Synod assembled at Preston, Feb. 7, 1648.

London, Printed for Luke Fawne . . . and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at Manchester 1649. Sm. quarto.

F.L., Bodl. (without Manch. imprint).

The Main Pointes of Church-Government and Discipline plainly and modestly handled by way of Question and Answer. Very useful to such as either want money to buy, or Leasure to read larger Tracts. By R. Hollinworth.

London, Printed by J. M. for Luke Fawne, and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at his shop in Manchester 1649. Sm. octavo.

Chet. Lib.

The Catechist Catechized . . . By Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniens.

London, Printed by J. M. for Luke Fawn and are to be sold by Tho. Smith at his shop in Manchester, 1653. Quarto.

F.L., Bodl., J. P. E. (without Manchester imprint).

A Treatise of Prayer . . . By Edward Gee, Minister of the Gospel at Eccleston in Lancashire.

London, Printed by J. M. for Luke Fawn and are to be sold by Thomas Smith at his shop in Manchester, 1653. Sm. octavo.

J. P. E. (two copies, one with Manchester imprint).

(4) RALPH SHELMERDINE.

The fourth Manchester bookseller and stationer bore the same surname as the second, and it is not improbable that RALPH SHELMERDINE was the son of William Shelmerdine, and that he is to be identified with the Ralph, son of William Shelmerdine, stationer, baptized at the Collegiate Church in 1620. If so, it is probable that he succeeded to

the business of William Shelmerdine in 1654, and he may have acquired that of Thomas Smith after his and his wife's decease in the same year. Anyhow, he seems to have become the chief bookseller in the town during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and his name is attached to many important pamphlets and sermons.

There are many entries of the baptisms of the children of "Ralph Shelmerdine of Manchester" between 1654 and 1672, but Mr. Owen informs me there is nothing to distinguish Ralph Shelmerdine, the bookseller, from Ralph Shelmerdine, the tailor, who were contemporaries of each other. The same applies to the entries in the Manchester Court Leet Records down to 1660, after which date the stationer, who was rapidly becoming a man of importance in the town, is frequently styled "gentleman," and is dignified with the prefix of "Mr." At the court held on the 16th April, 1672, the jury presented "that Mr. Ralphe Shelmerdyne hath purchased a certaine messuage from Mr. Stephen Radley and others scituate and beinge in the marketstid and is to come into this Court to doe his Suite & Service." From the list of the inhabitants of Manchester in 1668, it appears he was then living in the Old Mealgate, and from a previous entry in these Court Leet Records (vol. iv., p. 181) he was living there in 1657. He was elected one of the two Constables on the 8th October, 1672, and in October, 1682, he was made Boroughreeve of the town, the highest position to which he could attain.

In a lease of land in Manchester in 1686 for three lives, these are given as "John Sandiforth of Manchester, ironmonger, George Shelmerdine, son of Ralph Shelmerdine of Manchester, bookseller, and Robert Livesey, son of Mr. James Livesey, late rector of Great Budworth, co. Chester," and it is probable that these persons were related to one another.

He died in 1701, the following entry being in the Register:

"1700[-1] March 21 Ralph Shelmerdine of Manchester, bookseller, buried."

His will, dated 11th June, 1696, and proved at Chester on the 13th October, 1701, is still preserved there. In it he states that he had already given his son John Shelmerdine, £80, his son George Shelmerdine £100, his son Ralph Shelmerdine £140, and his daughter Isabel Hulme £40; he then bequeaths to John, George, and Isabel further sums to make up their respective portions to £140 each. To his son, John Shelmerdine, he bequeathed "all my books, paper, parchment and worklooms in or belonging to my shop and trade." To his sister, Margaret Shelmerdine, he left £30.

The earliest books in which Ralph Shelmerdine's name is at present known to occur are some copies of that curious little work by Richard Hollinworth, entitled—

The Holy Ghost on the Bench, Other Spirits at the Bar: Or the Judgment of the Holy Spirit of God upon the Spirits of the Times. Recorded in Holy Writ. And Reported by Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniens[is]. . . . 1656.

In 1661 he published the sermon preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on the 23rd April, 1661, being the coronation day of his Royal Majesty, Charles II., by Richard Heyrick, Warden of the said College, which bears this imprint, "London: Printed for Ralph Shelmerdine, Bookseller in Manchester 1661." So exceedingly rare is this sermon that there is no copy in any Manchester library, either public or private, and the only copy known is in the British Museum. The late Mr. Crossley had, I believe, a copy, but what became of it after his death I do not know.

By the courtesy of Mr. Quaritch, the well-known London bookseller, I have recently had an opportunity of examining the volume of Manchester Churchwardens' Accounts, from the year 1664 to 1711, which he purchased at the Crossley

sale, and for which he is asking £60. It is much to be regretted that this most interesting volume was not secured for one of the Manchester libraries, or that no public-spirited citizen has yet come forward to purchase it and present it to the city. This very book, it appears, was purchased from Ralph Shelmerdine, as the first entry shows :—

"1664 Pd Raphe Shelmerdine for a large Booke, for to keepe the parish Accompts in - - 00. 09ˢ. 00."

His name frequently occurs.

"1668 Payd Mr. Raph Shelmerdine ffor a greate Church bible - - - - - - 05ˡˡ. 00ˢ. 00ᵈ.

"1672 Dec. 17. Payd Mr. Shelmerdine pro Churchbooke & bindinge - - - - - 01. 07. 00.

"1674[-5] ffeb. 3ᵈ Paid Mr. Raph Shelmerdine for a new Booke of Common Prayer 14ˢ & for a Booke of Homilies xjˢ both for yᵉ church - - - 01. 05. 00.

and so on. Once more in

1686 Pd Mr. Raph Shelmerdine for a New Large Church Bible and two Common Prayer Books - 04. 05. 10.

The collection of Prospectuses of books, issued in the seventeenth century, preserved by Anthony Wood in his MS. No. 658 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, mentions "Mr. Shelmerdine" as a bookseller in Manchester in the years 1688, 1691, and 1695.

The following books are found bearing Ralph Shelmerdine's name :—

The Holy Ghost on the Bench, Other Spirits at the Bar: Or the Judgment of the Holy Spirit of God upon the Spirits of the Times. Recorded in Holy Writ. And Reported by Richard Hollinworth, Mancuniens:

London, Printed for Luke Fawn, and are to be sold by Ralph Shelmerdine, Bookseller in Manchester, 1656. Sm. 8vo.

Chet. Lib., J. P. E. (two copies, one with and one without local imprint), Bodl. (without Manch. imprint). The second edition 1657, J. P. E., Bodl. (both without Manch. imprint).

Usurpation Defeated and David Restored . . . laid open in a Sermon on II. Sam. xix. 14. Preached on the Publique Solemn Day of Thanksgiving, May 24 1660, in the Collegiate Church of Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster. By Henry Newcome, Master in Arts and Minister of the Gospel there . . .

London, Printed for Ralph Shelmerdine, Bookseller in Manchester, 1660. Sm. 8vo.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E.

A Sermon preached at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, on Tuesday, the 23^{d} day of April, 1661, being the Coronation Day of his Royal Majesty, Charles II. By Richard Heyrick, Warden of the said College.

London: Printed for Ralph Shelmerdine Bookseller in Manchester, 1661. A copy in the British Museum—the only one known.

The Mysterie of Rhetorick unveil'd . . . By John Smith, Gent. [of Southwark, in the 1657 edition. Bodl.].

London, Printed by E. T. and R. H. for George Eversden at the Adam and Eve in St. John's Lane, and Ralph Shellmerdin Bookseller in Manchester. 1673. Sm. octavo.

At the end of this volume is a list of books "printed for and sold by George Eversden, at the Adam and Eve in St. John's Lane and by Ralph Shellmerdin Book-seller in Manchester."

F.L.

(5) NATHANIEL HEATHCOTE—1657-8.

During the time that Ralph Shelmerdine was the chief Manchester bookseller and stationer, the names of others who apparently pursued the same trade occasionally occur in the registers and elsewhere. Thus in 1658, the name of NATHANIEL HEATHCOTE, of Manchester, stationer, occurs once, and no more:—

"1658 John son of Nathaniel Heathcote of Manchester, stationer, buried May 1st."

His name as "Mr. Nathaniel Heathcote" occurs once only in the Court Leet Records, at the court held on the 6th October, 1657.

(6) ABRAHAM HOLLAND—1673 TO 1701.

Unlike Mr. Heathcote, a good deal is known about Mr. ABRAHAM HOLLAND, of Manchester, bookseller, who was a contemporary and a rival of Ralph Shelmerdine. He was the son of George Holland, of Crumpsall, his baptism being recorded in the Manchester register on the 25th March, 1640. On April 22nd, 1673, he was married at the Collegiate Church to Mary Antrobus, and by her he had several children, whose baptisms and burials are all duly recorded as those of "Abraham Holland of Manchester bookseller." His wife was buried on October 7th, 1681, and he himself on May 15th, 1701.

I am not at present aware of any books, pamphlets, or sermons, to which his name is attached, but such may possibly be met with. Several books were purchased from him for the Chetham Library from 1683 to 1690, and in the volume of Churchwardens' Accounts, previously alluded to, his name occurs several times, thus :—

"1683[-4] March 5th Pd. Abraham Holland for a prayer Booke - - - - - - - 00. 08. 10."

"1691. Sept. Pd. Abra. Holland for 2 New Prayer books 01. 02. 0."

"1693. Pd. Abr. Holland for a great bible for y^e^ church 03. 00. 00."

Mr. Holland's name occurs in the old Prospectuses, Wood MS. 658, Bodleian Library, in 1688 and 1693.

(7) ROBERT HILTON—1678 TO *c.* 1685.

The Manchester register records on November 14th, 1678, the marriage of Robert Hilton and Mary Vere, and on the 17th April, 1681, "Joseph, son of Robert Hilton, of Manchester, bookseller," was baptised there. The baptisms of other children occur, and that is all. The date of his death is not at present decidedly known, as there appears to have

been another person contemporary with him, of the same Christian and surname. He took the oath of allegiance in Manchester in 1679, but he is not known to have issued any pamphlet or sermon.

(8) MORDECAI MOXON—1679 TO 1692.

Another contemporary of Ralph Shelmerdine was a stationer and bookseller, who bore the name of Mordecai Moxon. He occurs in the list of those who took the oath of allegiance in Manchester in May, 1679, when he is styled "gentleman." Several books were purchased from him for the Chetham Library between 1682 and 1690. The Manchester registers contain these entries:—

"1682 Anne daughter of Mordecai Moxon, of Manchester, stationer, baptized May 18th."

"1686 Mary daughter of Mordecai Moxon, of Manchester, stationer, baptized November 25th."

1689. Suzannah daughter of Mr. Mordecai Moxon, stationer. baptized April 21. [She was buried March 26, 1693.]

1691[-2] Elizabeth daughter of Mr. Mordecai Moxon, stationer, baptized January 31.

And then nothing more is heard of him or his children. Adam Martindale, in his *Life*, printed by the Chetham Society (p. 230), under date 1683, records that "Mr. Moxon, bookseller in Manchester," was very anxious to print a pamphlet of his, written against Mr. Smith, lecturer at Bolton.* He finally agreed with him, and the copy for the press was sent to London to be printed, but owing to disputes it never appeared. Only one little book is at present known, bearing Mr. Moxon's name as bookseller.

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* John Smith, lecturer at Bolton Church, afterwards incumbent of Deanhead Chapel in Scammonden, Huddersfield. Buried 19th May, 1699, aged 82. (Cf. *Book-Lore*, ii. 33, art. on "Patriarchal Sabbath;" also Scholes' *Bolton Bibliography*, p. 30.)

The late Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., in his lecture on "The Leigh Grammar School," mentions (p. 27 of pamphlet reprint) that the first edition of Chetham's *Angler's Vade Mecum*, 1681, was "printed for Mordecai Moxon, bookseller in Manchester." The copy of this book in the Free Library, Mr. Sutton informs me, does not bear this imprint, neither does the copy in the Leigh Grammar School Library, to which Mr. James Ward, the head master, kindly referred for me. Possibly Mr. Bailey may have had a copy in his possession with the Manchester imprint, and confused it with the copy now preserved at Leigh.

There are two entries in the Manchester registers of the last decade of the seventeenth century, which at present are a little mysterious and require explanation. These are:—

1692, Thomas Hud, of Manchester, *printer*, buried September 11th

1693[-4] Jonathan, son of John Greenwood of Manchester, *printer*, baptized March 1st

It is very doubtful if these could possibly have been "letter-press" printers, for the earliest book or pamphlet at present known to have been *printed* in Manchester bears date 1719, more than twenty-five years later than these two entries. These persons may possibly have been "calico printers," if that trade was known in Manchester so early as the end of the seventeenth century. It is only right to add that some of those who have studied this subject think that these two persons were undoubtedly letter-press printers, and that some day some productions of their presses will be found. But this is not my opinion. Since this paper was read Mr. Owen has ascertained that John Greenwood, who was buried January 29th, 1706, is described on his gravestone as a "cloth-worker" (see Manchester *City News*, Notes and Queries, May 19th, 1888). I also have met with a will, dated April 10th, 1712, in which the following passage

occurs: "I devise all that my messuage . . . in or near Market-Street Lane . . . and the buildings backwards of the same messuage, heretofore called a Loom-house, and now used by the said Sarah Brown as a *printing house*, to my executors &c." This might possibly be considered as proving the existence of a letter-press printer in Manchester a few years earlier than 1719, but more information is wanted (see Manchester *City News*, Notes and Queries, June 16th, 1888).

(9) EPHRAIM JOHNSON—1692 TO *c.* 1701.

This Manchester bookseller, although quite a young man at the time, was evidently an enterprising man, and a formidable rival of Ralph Shelmerdine in the declining years of his life. He was the son of Mr. William Johnson, of Manchester, grocer, and was baptized at the Collegiate Church, on the 12th January, 1672-3. He appears to have married about 1693, and in the entry of the baptism of his son Thomas, on the 14th August, 1694, he is described as "of Salford." He had a son William baptized May 20th, 1696, and buried in 1697; Martha baptized 20th January, 1698-9, and William baptized 21st August, 1701, after which we lose all record of him.

He was clearly in business as a bookseller and stationer in the town in 1692, for in the Chetham Library purchase book occurs the following entry:—

"Dec 29 1692 paid Eph. Johnson for Limburghs Historia
1^{li} 1^{s} 0^{d}"

The churchwardens' accounts record the payment on the 15th of February, 1695[-6], to "Ephraim Johnson for common prayer bookes 04^{li} 15^{s}. 00^{d}." Other entries occur in 1700 and 1701, as follows:—

"1700 Pd. Ephraim Johnson for Books as per note 4. 12. 0"
"1701. Pd. Ephraim Johnson for a Register Booke 02. 10. 00."

It would seem that Mr. Johnson left Manchester in or before

1705, on account of some misconduct, for the following curious paragraph appears in *The Life and Errors of John Dunton*, a well-known London bookseller, printed in 1705, and reprinted by Nichols in 1818 (vol. i., p. 238):—

"Mr. Clayton in Manchester. He was Apprentice to Mr. Johnson of the same Town; but, his Master thinking it necessary to be a knave, and as a consequence of it to walk off, so Mr. Clayton succeeds him, and has stepped into the whole business of that place, which is very considerable; and if he have but prudence, he may thrive apace."

The following books were printed for Ephraim Johnson:—

The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Lords day or Sunday Sabbath. Octavo. [1695.]

London, Printed for E. Mory at the three Bibles in St. Pauls Church-yard, F. Bentley in Halifax and E. Johnston in Manchester. (Advertised in the London Catalogue 1695. Wood MS. 658.)

Tentamen Novum: Proving that Timothy and Titus were Diosesan Rulers of Ephesus and Crete. By T[hos.] G[ipps] E. A. P.

London, Printed for E. Johnson, Bookseller in Manchester; and sold by Hen. Mortlock at the Phœnix in St. Pauls Church-yard. MDCXCVI. Octavo.

Bodl.

A Sermon against Corrupting the Word of God, Preacht at Christ Church in Manchester, upon a publick occasion on the 11th Day of July 1696. By Thomas Gipps, Rector of Bury.

London, Printed for Ephraim Johnston Bookseller in Manchester 1697. Quarto.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E., Bodl.

The Surey Imposter: Being an Answer to a late Fanatical Pamphlet, entituled The Surey Demoniack. By Zach. Taylor, A.M. And One of the King's Preachers for the County-Palatine of Lancaster.

London: Printed for John Jones, at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard; and Ephraim Johnson, Bookseller in Manchester, MDCXCVII. Quarto.

Chet. Lib. (imperfect), F.L. (perfect), J. P. E. (perfect), Bodl.

Heavenly Converse: . . . By Oliver Heywood. . . .
London, Printed for Ephraim Johnston in Manchester, 1697. Sm. octavo.
F.L.

Popery, Superstition, Ignorance and Knavery, ... [relating to the Surey Imposter]. By Zach. Taylor.
London: Printed for John Jones, at the Dolphin and Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard; and Ephraim Johnston, Bookseller in Manchester, MDCXCVIII. Quarto.
J. P. E., Bodl. (without Manch. imprint).

Remarks on Remarks or the Rector of Bury's Sermon Vindicated. . . . By Thomas Gipps, Rector of Bury.
London, Printed for Ephraim Johnston, Bookseller in Manchester. MDCXCVIII. Sm. quarto.
Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E., Bodl.

Tentamen Novum Continuatum Or An Answer to Mr. Owen's Plea and Defence. . . . By Thomas Gipps, Rector of Bury in Lancashire.
London, Printed by Tho. Warren for Ephraim Johnson, Bookseller in Manchester, 1699. Sm. 4to.
Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E., Bodl.

(10) ZACHARY WHITWORTH—*c.* 1690 TO 1697.

Quite at the end of the seventeenth century, we meet with the first reference to a family of stationers and booksellers, whose names became very well known in Manchester in the eighteenth century. Very little is known of ZACHARY WHITWORTH.* His name occurs in the Manchester Poll Book of 1690, and there are entries of the purchase of books from him for the Chetham Library from 1690 to 1697. His burial is recorded in the registers on the 30th November, 1697, but I have not yet met with his will, and so cannot say whether he was married or not.

* Mr. Allnutt informs me that he has met with the name of "Mr. Whitworth, bookseller in Leeds" in 1693 (Wood MS. 658, Bodleian Library), and that it is possible that Zachary Whitworth came from that town to Manchester. "Mr. Whitworth, bookseller in Manchester," also occurs in that year, 1693 (same MS.).

His name occurs as the publisher of the three following books, the one the funeral sermon of Henry Newcome, and the others two tracts against the rector of Bury, and possibly others may be subsequently discovered.

The Glorious Reward of Faithful Ministers Declared and Improved. In a Sermon upon the Occasion of the Funeral of that Excellent Minister of Jesus Christ, Henry Newcome A.M. Late Pastor of a Congregation at Manchester in Lancashire. By John Chorlton. London: Printed for T. P. and are to be sold by Zachary Whitworth, Bookseller in Manchester. 1696. Quarto.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E.

Remarks on a Sermon . . . preached by Thos. Gipps, Rector of Bury on the 11th July 1696 . . . by J. O. [James Owen] Minister of the Gospel at Oswestry. London: Printed for Zachary Whitworth, Bookseller in Manchester. 1697. Quarto.

Chet. Lib., F.L., J. P. E.

Tutamen Evangelicum: or, a Defence of Scripture Ordination, against the Exceptions of T. G. in a book intituled Tentamen Novum . . . By the author of a Plea for Scripture Ordination [James Owen].

London: Printed for Zachary Whitworth, Bookseller in Manchester, 1697. Duodecimo. [Other copies of this book have not this imprint.]

F.L.

(11) ANN UNSWORTH—*c.* 1690 TO 1700.

Contemporary with Zachary Whitworth, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, we meet with a woman who acted in the capacity of bookseller and publisher. Of this woman, ANN UNSWORTH, some few particulars, thanks to Mr. John Owen's researches in the Manchester registers, are known to us. Her maiden name was Ann Sanderson, and she was married at the Collegiate Church, on the 2nd January, 1665-6, to John Unsworth. They had several children: John, baptised 21st October, 1666; Thomas, baptised 9th August, 1668; Mary, baptised 6th August, 1671; and Edward, baptised 26th October, 1673. The

husband, John Unsworth, was buried on the 19th August, 1688, and it would appear that it was subsequent to this date that his widow embarked in the bookselling business. She herself was buried on February 14th, 1699-1700.*

Two works, on the title page of which her name occurs, are at present known, and as both these are by the same author, the Rev. Henry Pendlebury, they were probably issued together. They are as follows:—

Invisible Realities the Real Christian's Greatest Concernment, in Several Sermons on 2. Cor. iv. 18. By Henry Pendlebury A.M. late Minister of the Gospel at Rochdale in Lancashire, Author of the Plain Representation of Transubstantiation.

London: Printed by J. D. for Ann Unsworth, of Manchester, and sold by Jonathan Robinson, at the Golden Lion in S^{t} Paul's Churchyard. 1696. Sm. 8vo.

Chet. Lib., F.L.

The Books Opened. Being several discourses on Rev. 20. 14. By Henry Pendlebury, A.M. late Minister of the Gospel at Rochdale in Lancashire; author of The Plain Representation of Transubstantiation.

London: Printed by J. D. for Ann Unsworth of Manchester; and sold by Jonathan Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in S^{t} Paul's Churchyard. 1696. Sm. 8vo.

Chet. Lib., F.L.

Newcome, in his *Autobiography* (p. 284), records, under June 18th, 1695, "Ann Unsworth was with me in her meddling humour, about the new Psalms; and I was not so patient with her as I should have been."

(12) JOHN SHELMERDINE—1698 TO 1701.

This bookseller was the son of Ralph Shelmerdine, and no doubt had taken over his father's business when the latter became an old man, before 1698. In the Manchester Churchwardens' Accounts, before alluded to, there is an

* See *Manchester Guardian*, Notes and Queries, No. 602.

entry in that year of a payment to him "for three prayer books and repairing some old ones 02li 01s 10d." He is mentioned in his father's will, proved in 1701, when all his father's trade effects were bequeathed to him (see p. 14). Nothing more appears to be known of him in connection with Manchester, and it has been conjectured that he may have removed to London, and that the character of "Mr. Shermerdine" given in the *Life and Errors of John Dunton*, 1705 (vol. i., p. 209), may refer to him. This is rather doubtful, because in 1693 there was already a "Mr. Shelmerdine," a bookseller in Little Britain, in London, and in 1710 "*Thomas* Shelmerdine" occurs as a member of the Stationers' Company. (Information kindly sent by Mr. Allnutt.) Mr. Allnutt sends me a note of the following pamphlet to which his name appears.

A Reply to John Colebatch, upon his Late Piece, concerning the Curing the Biting of a Viper by Acids. By Charles Leigh, Doctor of Physick.

London, Printed and Sold by John Shelmerdine, Bookseller in Manchester. 1698. 12mo. pp. 24.

Bodl.

Having now reached the end of the seventeenth century and this paper being already sufficiently long, this seems a very proper period at which to stop. As already described, we have records of no less than *twelve* booksellers and stationers, plying their trade in the rapidly growing town of Manchester between the years 1600 and 1700. For a long period the requirements of the town seem to have been satisfied by one bookseller, and it is not till after the Restoration that the number begins to increase, and between 1690 and 1700 there must have been at least *seven* booksellers, Ralph Shelmerdine, Abraham Holland, Mordecai Moxon, Ephraim Johnson, Zachary Whitworth, Ann Unsworth, and John Shelmerdine, all busily employed in the town.

With the eighteenth century the number of booksellers in the town rapidly increases, as may possibly be shown in a subsequent paper to be read to this Society. But in spite of this it is not till the year 1719 that the first book actually *printed* in the town of Manchester is met with. A copy of this little book is exhibited this evening, and it will no doubt be noticed with some interest that it consists of the "Mathematical Lectures, . . . that were read to the Mathematical Society of Manchester, by the late ingenious mathematician John Jackson" implying a high state of knowledge and general education in what was then a small provincial town. It is dedicated "to the vertuous and religious Lady Bland, patroness and first subscriber to these Mathematical Lectures." She was also at this time the Lady of the Manor of Manchester, and was residing at Hulme Hall—now pulled down. Only about four copies of this book are known to be in existence.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN TROOPS SERVING IN BRITAIN.

BY GEORGE ESDAILE.

IN a paper read last year I showed that there was evidence of the presence in Britain, at various dates during the Roman occupation, of a number of legions considerably in excess of those generally accepted as present, and which evidence was found in the volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum, and on various coins and medals struck during that period. The number of these legions, so shown, was fifteen, and their status and names were as under.

No.	Name.	Authority: Hübner, H.; Akerman, A.; Chester, C.; Begerius, B.; Tacitus, Tac.		
II.	Adjutrix Piae Fidelis	3 H.	Wilmanns, Afric. 217.	
II.	Augusta Gordianae	62 H. C.	„	„
II.	Parthica	3 A.	„	„
III.	Augusta	1 H.	„	„
IIII.	Flavia P. F.	4 A.	„	„
V.	Augusta	1 A.		
V.	Macedonica	1 C.		
VI.	Victrix P. F.	104 H. 3 B	„	„
VII.	Claudiana	3 A.	„	„
VIII.	Augusta Invicta	3 H. 5 A. C.		
IX.	Hispaniae	7 H. Tac.		

No.	Name.	Authority: Hübner, H.; Akerman, A.; Chester, C.; Begerius, B.; Tacitus, Tac.	
X.	Fretensis -	- 1 H.	Wilmanns, Afric. 217.
XIIII.	Gemina, M. V.	- 3 H.	
XX.	Valeriae Victricis	- 86 H. C.	
XXI.	Vlpia Rapax -	- 4 A.	
XXII.	Primigenia -	- 2 H. 1 A. 1 B.	„ „

The sixteenth is the V. Macedonian—a record of which has just been found at Chester. Would it be right to assume that all these were separate legions; or, as in the cases of II. and V., only one legion under varying titles, but with the same numeral; or that only portions of such legions were located here; or that the inscriptions are only to native Britons who had served abroad and died at home? However that may be, in the sculptured stones and other remains taken from the walls of Chester during the past year, and which also materially increase the numbers of examples from Hübner and elsewhere, we find that "of these, fifteen are inscribed stones, nearly all monumental; five bear references to the XX. Legion, the builders and occupiers of Roman Deva; one records the death of one who was connected with the V. Macedonian Legion, the VIII. and the II., as well as the XX." When these are fully deciphered, we shall have all about them before us; but so far in the bare statement that I have given from the *Antiquary*, December, 1887, p. 257, we have evidence singularly corroborative of all we know of the VIII., II., and XX.; as to the "V. Mace.," which find is unique as regards Britain, we might be led to question whether the discovery of a single stone should admit the possibility of the presence of an entire legion; but if we take the well-known coin of Carausius, with the number of the V. Augustan Legion upon it, as showing another designation of the V. Mace., we might fairly

assume that the date of the introduction of the V. Legion into Britain preceded the date of the coin by but a short time.

It may seem at first sight hopeless to attempt to find any geographical information in an account of the life and death of a Roman soldier, but I hope that as I proceed I shall show that history is the handmaid to geography, and that if the early history of our own country were less fragmentary, and if complete works, instead of odd volumes, had been handed down to us, our conceptions of the history of our native land would be different. In this instance, from the name of an "ala" or cohort, we have a clue to the district or province of its origin, and in the "domus" or "civ" of the individual we find the possible city of his birth. From these remarks we see the extreme value of the great masses of inscriptions that are reproduced in the pages of the Corpus Inscriptionum, as well as in the inscribed stones and altars found since the compilation of that work, but which are none the less important to the historian, to the antiquary, or to the geographer; we therein see at a glance how a native of Italy served his full time of twenty and so many years over, in Britain and then went home to die. We read how one of the "natione Belga" died in Britain and had an inscribed stone raised to his memory (in the fourth century, according to Warner, p. 5) at Bath. Having mentioned the age of altars, I should like to draw attention to the somewhat forgotten works of Gruter; although in a great measure now superseded by the Corpus, these have yet a considerable value, as in the case of altars (lost or otherwise), we often find the outlines given, which yield us two factors—omitted in the Corpus—viz., the actual *shape*, and through it some guide to the age of the altar. Again, we find evidence of the absorption of those dauntless barbarians, the Arverni, who defeated Julius Cæsar and hung

his sword in their temple. We find proof of the admission of individuals of that nation into the legions in Britain in the inscription on the altar found at Boughton, near Chester, whereon we see words implying that it was dedicated to the *genius* of the *nation* of the *Arverni*—GENIO NARVERNI.* I am aware that it is very differently read by Hübner as GENIO AVERNI—to the genius of (the nether regions) Avernus; but a moment's reflection will show the impolicy, the impiety, as well as the absurdity of propitiating a possible *genius* of the infernal regions, when by such a direct insult both Pluto and Proserpine (the god and goddess of those parts) would be aggrieved and would certainly take summary vengeance on the unwise, negligent, and impious Julius Quintilianus.†

If reference be made to the following, it will be seen that the dedications have been to the genius of places and persons, and that such had not exclusive divinities as the god and goddess mentioned, and therefore would not incur the risk of impiety because of the punishment for that act—death—or become *Sacer, i.e.*, one who had been guilty of sacrilege, whom any one might kill without being declared guilty of murder. These are a few dedications illustrating this point:—

Hübner, No. 22. London: To the genius of the province.
„ 166. Chester: Genio Sancto Centurie Aelius Claudianus optis V.S.
„ 167. Chester: To the genius of the place.
„ 265. Norton: To the genius of the place.
„ 302. Penrith: To the genius of the place.

* It is impossible to show the ligatures without specially prepared type.

† Since reading the above, I have had a communication from Mr. Shrubsole of Chester, in which he expresses the opinion that he thinks the time has come for a new reading of the inscription on this altar.

Hübner, No. 339. Old Carlisle: To the genius of Aurelius.
„ 370. Ellenborough: To the genius of the place.
„ 510. Benwell: To the genius of the Ala.
„ 644. Housesteads: To Cocidio, the presiding genius of Valerius.
„ 703. Chesterholm: Genio Praetori.
„ 886. Old Wall: Genio Valli.
„ 1031. Riechester: Genio et signis Coh. I. F. Vardul.
„ 1113. Achindavy: Genio Terrae Britannicae (see also Roy's *Milit. Antiq.*, pl. xxxviii.).

It is somewhat singular that such a mistake should have been made by Hübner with regard to the Boughton altar, for the Arverni were a nation of some standing, and had been commemorated before the find at Boughton, 1849, as may be seen in Gruter 298, 3, where the name occurs twice. This inscription was unearthed in 1563, and contains the name of Q. Fabius (Maximus) (de Bell. Gall. i. 45). If the altar to the so-called Genio Averni be only carelessly examined, there will be seen a space for an R, and the R will also be visible, as well as the ligated NAR at the commencement of the word. Two independent sketches, now shown, each give these omitted letters. In some long inscriptions, similar to No. 4,510 (Corpus Hisp.) in Taragon, we have a chapter of ancient geography opened before us, wherein we read not only a full account of this soldier's services to the empire, but what amounts to an epitome of his travels through the continents of Europe and Africa, with details of his high command in Britain and subsequent removal to Spain, where he only journeyed to die, perhaps at his native town Barcino. The same may be said for many who were great men in Britain, see Gruter (493, 1), found at Rome, where the subject had been legate in four provinces, of which Britain was one, curator of the Tiber and the

cloacæ of the City, had been an officer in seven legions, and was present with Hadrian in Judæa; or as No. 217 Wilmanns, Africa, where the brave deceased is recounted to have served fifty years in fifteen legions, and to have gained a mural crown for services in Parthica. Strangely enough this inscription shows us that this soldier served in the following legions:—LEG. III. AVG., LEG. IV., LEG. VII., LEG. X., LEG. II. . . ., LEG. III. AVG., LEG. VI. VIC., LEG. II. PAR., which are eight of those in the list to which I have alluded. This inscription shows, I think, that LEG. II. PAR., was not LEG. II. AVG. Or again, as No. 1,578, Africa, where the soldier was of "Britanniæ Inferior;" or as No. 2,766, Africa, who was Military Tribune of XX. Legion, and III. Aug.; or as No. 4,800 Africa, from the Proconsulate of Numidia, in which we find a veteran prefect, who was dismissed (dismissus), returning to Gadianfala, his country (pat suae), he lived eighty-one years; or as T. Flavius Ingennus, No. 5,180, Africa, who was a soldier in the VI. victricis pia fidelis provincie Britannie Inferioris vixit annos LXI., also of Numidia; and lastly one found in Mauretania, No. 9,047, where the deceased was "praef. Coh. I. Astyrum Pr. Britanniæ."

Following up the study of geography in this way, we open out a vast field of enterprise in unexplored regions; we people the "world" anew, as it was known from one thousand five hundred to two thousand years ago; we reconstruct cities in wastes, and make the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa bristle with camps; each yielding from its still buried treasures much instruction in geography, history, and antiquity, all of which are too closely intertwined to be subdivided without loss of matter of considerable value to geography. On this chart of "Orbis Veteribus notus" I have placed the locale of most of the recorded names of the alæ or cohorts composing or attached to the legions serving

here, either in whole or in part, which have been handed down to us by means of inscribed stones, altars, and inscriptions, to be found in the Malpas, Riveling, or Sydenham tablets, or in the Notitia, which was compiled about A.D. 403, as well as from inscriptions from other pages of the Corpus. From the testimony of these records of fact, I still contend that there is not a shadow of evidence nor even of probability that the Romans, while in the occupation of Britain, departed from their usual custom of first conquering the country, and garrisoning it with foreign troops and deporting the natives at a fighting age, as we learn from Tacitus (Vit. Agric.): "The Britons themselves are a people who cheerfully comply with the levies of men and with the imposition of taxes, and with all the duties imposed by government, provided they receive no illegal treatment and insults from their governors, those they bear with impatience; nor have the Romans any further subdued them than only to obey just laws, but never submit to be slaves." Tacitus, in Hist. ii., seems to contradict this by his own statement, as he there states that Britain is "a country never settled in perfect composure."

Taking, then, the following *précis* from the tablets and other authorities, we can find the place on the map where each ala or cohort was raised. To begin with the record on the Malpas tablet, we find mention of troops from the following places:—

From Thracia the "I. Thracum."

From Pannonia the "I. Pannoniorum."

From Asia Minor the "III. Gallorum."

From Spain the "Vettonum et I. Hispanorum."

From Gallia Belgica the "I. Vangionum."

From the Alps the "I. Alpinorum." This entry of Alpine troops will, I think, be found unique in Britain.

From Gallia Belgica the "I. Morinorum."

From Lower Germany the "I. Cugenorum."
From Gallia Belgica the "I. Bætasiorum et I. Tungrorum."
From Thracia the "II. Thracum."
From Spain the "III. Bracaraugustanorum."
From Gallia Lugdunensis the "III. Lingonum."
From Dalmatia the "IIII. Delmatarum."
On the Sydenham Tablet we have troops:
From Gallia Belgica the "I. Tungrorum."
From Spain the "I. Celtiberorum et Hispanorum."
From Gallia Lugdunensis the "I. Lingonum."
From Spain the "I. Vardullorum."
From Holland the "I. Frisiavonum."
From Hainault the "I. Nerviorum."
From Navarre the "II. Vasconum."
From Gallia Lugdunensis the "II. Lingonum."
From Spain the "II. Asturum."
From Pannonia the "II. Pannoniorum."
From Dalmatia the "IIII. Delmatarum."

On the Riveling Tablet we find horse and foot from the following places:

From Spain the "I. Asturum."
From Italy the "Ala Pincentina," which was in Germany A.D. 70 (Tac. Hist. iv. 62).
From Petra the "Ala Petriana," which came into Britain with Hadrian.
From Spain the "I. Hispanorum."
From Holland the "I. Frisiavonum."
From Syria the "I. Hamiorum."
From Hainault the "I. Sunucorum."
From Gallia Belgica the "I. Vangionum et I. Bætasiorum."
From Dalmatia the "I. Delmatarum."
From Gallia Narbonensis the "I. Aquitanorum."
From Gallia Belgica or from Hibernia the "I. Menapionum." This is also unique in Britain.

From Germany the "I. Cugenorum."
From Spain the "I. Vardullorum."
From Gallia Belgica the "I. Batavorum et I. Tungrorum."
From Gallia Lugdunensis the "II. Lingonum."
From Spain the "II. Asturum."
From Hainault the "II. Nerviorum."
From Spain the "III. Bracaraugustanorum."
From Hainault the "III. Nerviorum et VI. Nerviorum."

Also from the Grisons a vexillation of the "Rhœtorum" was located in Manchester, and such record is so far unique. Also with them from the Tyrol was a vexillation "Noricorum;" a "Vexillatio Germanorum" at Lowther, co. West.; an "Ala Vocontiorum" from Gallia Narbonensis; an "Ala Thraecarum" from Thrace; an "Ala Sarmatarum" from Sarmatia; an "Ala Indianæ" at Cirencester, Hüb. 66, in which Dannicus had served as stipendiary sixteen years; also another at Cologne, Grut. 519, 7, in which Albanus Vitalis served thirty years and ten months; and another at Forum Sempronii, Grut. 417, 6. These three open up a field for speculation as to the extent of the part called India, and which is still further excited on reference to Peutinger's table, where we find Roman camps at Kantcheou in Shefi-si in China and near Calcutta.

In No. 3,504, Henzen, Roma, we have an entry relating to the XX. Legion, which was long in Britain; it is to "M. Antonius Modianus," Prefect Coh. I. Commagena trib. Leg. XX., Val. Vict., &c., &c.; this carries us to Mount Taurus close to the "Hamian Gates." Also the well-known stone, Hübner *Brit.* 167, dug up in Chester in 1693, with the mention of one "Domo Samosata;" this also points to Syria, to the modern Semisat on the Euphrates; the latter place and Commagena were only about seventy miles apart. The entry as to the stone (Corpus Hisp. 4,114) at Taragon is that in which we have the travels of Candidus and his

exploits in Asia, Noricum, Illyricum, Parthia, in a city of the Ephesians, in Gallia Lugdunensis, in Belgica, and in Germany; again in Hübner *Brit.* 344, on the stone found at Old Carlisle, we have an inscription to one of African birth, but serving and dying in Britain; as also Hübner *Brit.* 370, to a tribune of a cohort from the province of "Maur. Cæsa" (Mauritania Cæsarea), Africa. I would now take a glance which can be but a passing one as to the time that each legion may have been here. I exclude all mention of the legions that were brought over by Julius Cæsar, and which are believed to have been five, and two thousand horse; the former including the VII. and X., and possibly the IX. It will be remembered that the tenth was his favourite legion.

Legio II. Piae Fidelis.

The Legion II. was commanded by Vespasian, and was in Britain *temp.* Claudius (Tac. Hist. iii.).

The Legion II. was sent against Civilis, and its *first* battle is mentioned in Hist. v.

The legion was in Pannonia in the time of Dion Cassius.

Legio II. Augusta.

Was in Upper Germany from about 10 A.D., was engaged in the Parthian war (77 A.D.), then brought over to Britain, where it was located (Dion Cassius, lv., p. 564) *temp.* 230 A.D.

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, p. 133, No. 38, we have the name and badge of this legion on a coin struck at London. LEG. AVG, with the Capricornus, in the exergue ML.

Legio II. Parthica.

In Akerman, p. 133, No. 79, we have a coin bearing LEG. II. PARTH, the badge is a centaur holding a globe and a rudder, in the exergue M L; also Nos. 80, 81, and 82 have the same legend; No. 83, LEG. II. PAR.

In the time of Dion Cassius (230 A.D.) this legion was in Italy.

LEGIO III. AUGUSTA.

The III. Leg. was transported from Syria to Mœsia (Tac. Hist. ii.) and revolted to Vespasian (*ib.* ii. and iii.). This legion, according to Tacitus (iiii.), paid their adoration to the rising sun. Sent back to Syria (*ib.* iiii.).

Dion Cassius states that this legion was in Africa from A.D. 10 to his own time (230 A.D.).

LEGIO IIII. FLAVIA.

A denarius of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) has an inscription, LEG . IIII . FL, which is identical with that upon a silver coin of Carausius (293 A.D.), with the badge of the legion—a centaur walking to the left, holding with both hands a long club or pedum, which he rests on his shoulders; and also from Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, No. 23, we have LEG . IIII . FL . , a *lion* walking, holding ears of *corn* in his mouth. No. 84 also, LEG . IIII . FLAVIA . P . F ; and No. 85, LEG . IIII . FL. Akerman corrects in his second edition, p. 124, what he asserted in his first edition, and states "that there is nothing to prove that the IIII. Leg. accompanied Carausius into Britain;" but does not deny—what he himself goes far to prove—that it was at some time in Britain. Dion Cassius tells that it was raised by Vespasian for Syria *εν Παννονια.*

LEGIO V. AUG.

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, p. 124, we have on No. 25, LEG . V. . . . AVG., a Bull standing.

LEGIO V. MACEDONICA.

According to Tacitus (Hist. iii.), it was lying at Cremona and (*ib.* v.) was in Judea ; Dion Cassius (lv.), states that it was in Germania Superior (A.D. 230).

LEGIO VI. VICTRIX.

According to Tacitus (Hist. ii.), the VI. Legion and thirteen thousand vexillaries ordered to the East. The VI. Legion sent to Dacia (*ib.* iii.). The VI. Legion led across the Alps (*ib.* iv.). VI. Legion called from Spain (*ib.* iv.). VI. Gordiana brought over to Britain by Hadrian (*cir.* 120 A.D.), and remained to the last. An inscription on a column in Rome shows that the VI. was in Britain A.D. 120-170; Dion Cassius* (lv. p. 564), mentions that Legio Sexta Victrix was in Britain (A.D. 230); Begerius Rom. Num. Pl. 7, No. 22, gives the Aquila et Signa Legionis VI.; as also in Pl. 47, Nos. 9 and 10.

LEGIO VII. CLAUDIANA.

Legio VII., enrolled by Galba, in Italy (Tac. Hist. ii.). Remanded to its old quarters (*ib.*). Revolted to Vespasian (*ib.*) at Verona (*ib.* iii.), at Cremona with VII. Galbiana (*ib.* iii.).

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, p. 124, we see No. 26, LEG . VII . . . a Bull standing. No. 86, LEG . VII . CL . a Bull. No. 87, LEG . VII . CLA . a Bull.

LEGIO VIII. INVICTA (AUGUSTA).

Tacitus (Hist. ii.) states that being then in Mœsia it revolted to Vespasian from Vitellius. It was led over the Alps (*ib.* iv.).

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, No. 27, we have LEG . VIII . . . IN . a ram standing, in the exergue ML; No. 28, LEG . VIII . INV; a similar type with ML; No. 88, LEG . VIII, a ram, in exergue ML; No. 89, LEG . VIII . AVG, a bull, in exergue M . L; No. 90, LEG . . . . IN, a ram, in exergue ML.

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* This passage from Dion occurs under date 758, A.V.C. *i.e.* 4, A.D., and in it LEG. II, VI, and XX are placed in Britannia Superior and Inferior. I incline to the belief that they were here in that year, as Superior and Inferior are definitions which were afterwards unknown as such in Britain. I would read Superior as Brit. Magna, and Inferior as Brit. Parva.

LEGIO IX. HISPANIAE.

This legion, in command of Petilius Cerealis, first sent to Britain by Claudius, A.D. 43. It advanced against the Iceni under Boadicea A.D. 61; the Romans were defeated, losing seventy thousand men. Petilius saved his life by flight with his cavalry; in the ensuing battle eighty thousand Britons and Boadicea fell.

The IX. Legion, being almost exterminated, was subsequently largely recruited by Nero, who sent over two thousand legionary soldiers, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and one thousand horse from Germany to strengthen it (Tac. Ann. l. 14).

In the life of Agricola (Tac.) we are told that the IX. was "fallen upon as the least sufficient and weakest of all" then in Britain.

LEGIO X.

X. Legion ordered to Africa (Tac. Hist. ii.).

X. Legion called from Spain (*ib.* iv.).

X. Legion sent against Civilis (*ib.* v.).

LEGIO XIV. GEMINA MART. VICT.

"Of signal reputation for their utterly suppressing the revolt in Britain," but then in Italy with the forces of Mœsia (Tac. Hist. ii.), who again writes: "Foremost in ferocity and sternness were they of the XIV. Legion, who denied confidently that ever they have been vanquished. It was therefore resolved to remand them back to Britain, from whence they had been by Nero called over, and that with them in the meantime the Batavian cohorts should always quarter, in consideration of their old quarrel with that legion" (Tac. Hist. ii.).

Tacitus (Hist. ii.) also tells us about these Batavian cohorts: "The same who in the war between Nero and Vindex (who died 68 A.D.) were withdrawn from the XIV.

Legion to return to Britain, but were eventually sent back to Germany. Three of the Batavian cohorts and two of Tungrians in Britain under Agricola (Tac. Vit. Agric.). The Batavians were exempt from tribute and payments (Tac. Hist. iv.).

In Britain and sent for to aid Vitellius (*ib.*). XIV. called from Brit. (*ib.* iv.). XIV. against Civilis in conjunction with the fleet from Britain (*ib.* iv. and v.).

In the time of Dion Cassius in Pannonia.

LEGIO XX. VALERIAE VICTRICIS.

Was commanded by Agricola, and brought over here by Vespasian *temp.* Claudius (Tac. Vit. Agric.); some of its vexillations were at Cremona (Tac. Hist. iii.). In Begerius (Pl. 8, No. 22), we have an example of the "aquila cum signis legionis Vicesimæ Hispanicæ" from a coin or medal—which may be compared with Gruter (358, 2), and the references that he gives to other authors. It is not mentioned in the Notitia, so if that be exhaustive, this legion must have been recalled before the date of that memorandum (fifth century).

LEGIO XXI. VLPIA (RAPAX).

According to Tacitus (Hist. ii.), was in Italy and advancing on Cremona; at that place (*ib.* iii.), and led over the Alps (*ib.* iv.) into Germany.

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins*, we find many coins with references to this legion:—No. 76, XXI. in the exergue. No. 91, LEG . XXI . VLPIA, Neptune standing, holding the hasta and a dolphin. No. 93, LEG . . . VLPIA, a male figure standing, in his right hand an unknown object, in his left the hasta. No. 94, L . . . VLPIA . VI (*sic*), Neptune standing, in his right hand a dolphin, in his left a trident.

LEGIO XXII. PRIMIGENIA.

In Akerman, *Rom. Brit. Coins* (p. 132, No. 77), we have LEG . IIXX . PRIMIG, Capricornus to the right, in the exergue ML. It is also given on a denarius of Gallienus, but in the list of legionary coins struck by that emperor the title "PRIM" does not occur, though such have LEG . XXII merely and are not uncommon. The twenty-second legion, surnamed Primigenia, and bearing in common with at least six other legions the badge of the Capricorn, appears to have been composed of allied troops, and was quartered in Gaul and Belgium. Six towns or places are named as stations in which were divisions of this legion (C. Roach Smith, *Num. Chron.* ii. 114).

Begerius, *Rom. Num.*, pl. 8, No. 23, gives Signa Legionis Primigeniae.

I feel that this interesting subject has but to be ventilated to be warmly received and to be adopted as a special branch of study by those geographers who are engaged in examining ancient sites assumed to be Roman, existing either in Britain or in any other part of "orbis veteribus notus;" and I believe that it may be taken as a fixed law that where a legionary camp was placed by the Romans in Britain or elsewhere, since A.D. 23 and before A.D. 193, that the shape and disposition of such camp were according to the plan laid down by Hyginus. And in tracing out the sites of these camps, even in Africa, and in baring the roads communicating with them, we may, as I said before, repeople the land approximately as it was in the days of that patriarch of geography, Ptolemy of Alexandria.

HENRY AINSWORTH, THE PURITAN COMMENTATOR.

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON AND ERNEST AXON.

AMONG the worthies of the vicinity of Blackburn, Henry Ainsworth, the learned Brownist theologian and commentator, has long held a distinguished place.* This position was given to him on the assumption that he was

* When the *Dictionary of National Biography* was started, the accomplished editor asked the late Mr. J. E. Bailey to write the life of Ainsworth, but the pressure that ultimately proved fatal was already beginning to be felt, and to relieve him I undertook the task. Although tolerably familiar with Ainsworth as a writer, I had made no critical investigation into his history, and could only indicate certain suspicious points in the commonly-received story of his life. Some further evidence was adduced in *Henry Ainsworth: his Birthplace and his Death.* By Ernest Axon. Reprinted from the *Palatine Note-Book* (Manchester, 1885), and now practically incorporated here. The publication of the *Registers of Caius and Gonville College* completed the demonstration that removes Ainsworth from the place he has held in the list of Lancashire authors. It seemed then desirable to place on record a full discussion of his life. The authorities for Ainsworth's biography are *Works of John Robinson, Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers.* London, 1851. *Two Treatises.* By Henry Ainsworth. Edinburgh, 1789. To this edition is prefixed some account of the life and writings of the author. The life is very carefully written. Abram's *History of Blackburn.* Blackburn, 1877. Dexter's *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years.* 1880. This contains, at p. 296, a facsimile of Henry Ainsworth's signature, the only fragment of his writing known. See, however, p. 335 for a notice of a book probably corrected by him. No portrait of him is recorded. Baines' *Lancashire.* Halley's *Lancashire Puritanism. British Museum General Catalogue.*—W. E. A. A.

the Henry Ainsworth, second son of Lawrence Ainsworth, of Pleasington, and his wife Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Grimshawe, of Clayton, who is mentioned in the Visitation of Lancashire made in 1567. As was pointed out in the *Palatine Note-Book* for May, 1885, there are several reasons against the supposition that the theologian and the Pleasington Ainsworth were identical, even supposing the commentator to have been born in 1560. Mr. Joseph Foster, in his *Lancashire Pedigrees*, states that Henry Ainsworth, of Pleasington, was born "*circa* 1560," and that his younger brother, George Ainsworth, was vicar of Garstang in 1577. Now it is, to say the least, extremely improbable that a youth seventeen years old should be elder brother to a man who was old enough to be the incumbent of a living. But the commentator, according to his own statements, made both at the time of his admission to his college and at his marriage, was not born until about 1570, or four years after the date of the Visitation in which he is supposed to be entered. His marriage register was discovered by the Rev. Dr. H. M. Dexter, in the *Puiboeken* or Records of Amsterdam, under date of 29th March, 1607, and a translation of it is printed on page 316 of his *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years* (and *cf.* p. 270), and is as follows: "*Henricus Ainsworth*, from Swanton, minister, aged thirty six years, dwelling on the Singel near the Keipoort, with *Margery Halie* from Ipswich, widow of Richard Appelbey." If Mr. Ainsworth was a native of Pleasington, it is not likely that he would describe himself as "from Swanton," unless, indeed, the latter was for awhile his last English residence. The statement of the Lancashire birth of Henry Ainsworth is, however, entirely disproved by the following entry in *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge*, edited by J. and S. C. Venn, 1887: "Aynsworth, Henry; son of Thomas Aynsworth, yeoman.

Born at Swanton Morley, Norfolk. At school there under Mr. Clephamson three years. At St. John's College, under Mr. Furnace, one year. Age 18. Admitted scholar, Dec. 15, 1587." The Ainsworth family at Swanton Morley was apparently a small one, there being only four entries in the parish registers, 1561-81, relating to them, which, by the kindness of the Rev. Edward Lombe, B.A., we are enabled to give. They are as follows:—

"Brigitta Aynsworth May 3 1562
Anna Aynsworth dau of Thomas 1563
Edward Aynsworth 1572
? Thomas Aynsworth 1575."

As will be seen, Henry Ainsworth's name does not occur, but at that early date the registers were very badly kept, and so the omission can easily be accounted for. From the admission register, it will be seen that Ainsworth was born at Swanton Morley, went to school there, and, when seventeen years old, went up to St. John's College, Cambridge, whence, on December 15th, 1587, he migrated to Gonville and Caius, where he resided three whole years as a scholar on the foundation. Dr. Dexter has quoted from Roger Williams the statement that "That most despised (while living) and now much honoured Mr. Ainsworth had scarce his peere amongst a thousand academicians, and yet he scarce set foot within a colledge walls." This is, of course, incorrect as to Ainsworth's academical career, as he certainly studied at two colleges at Cambridge, though it does not appear that he ever graduated.

Henry Ainsworth, then, was born, not in Lancashire, but in Norfolk. He was a native of Swanton Morley, where he was born in 1570. His father, Thomas Aynsworth, was a yeoman. After being three years under the scholastic care of Mr. Clephamson, he proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, and after remaining there a year, transferred himself

to Gonville and Caius College, to which he was admitted at the close of 1587. The time to which Ainsworth belonged was one of intense religious feeling, when men's minds were divided not only as to creed and dogma, but with equal bitterness as to the forms of ecclesiastical discipline and church government. Ainsworth was a fine type of the Elizabethan Puritan—learned, sincere, earnest, and uncompromising. He attached himself to those who were styled "Brownists," who, under the name of "Independents" afterwards, played so important a part in English history, and who were the ancestors of the "Congregationalists" and other free churches of the present time. Their essential distinction was the claim that each church or congregation should be a religious republic, regulating its own affairs in entire independence of state control, whether Episcopal or Presbyterian. All that they desired from the state was to be let alone; but, in the golden days of Good Queen Bess, this was a boon not to be attained. A vigorous persecution was directed against these sectaries, and their founder is said eventually to have reverted to the Church of England; but, if so, some of his followers were made of sterner stuff, and went into exile rather than recognise the right of the secular power to dictate in such a matter.

Ainsworth, about 1593, was thus expatriated, and entered into the service of a bookseller at Amsterdam as a porter. Of this period it is said by Roger Williams "that he lived upon ninepence a week and some boiled roots." In 1596 he became "teacher" of the church of which Francis Johnson was minister. According to one account, Ainsworth came from Ireland to the Netherlands (Dexter, p. 269). Here his powers as a Hebraist were discovered and brought into play. There were other exiles in the city, and Ainsworth, together with Francis Johnson, founded an Independent church; and in 1596 was the author wholly or in part of the *Confession of*

Faith of the People called Brownists. The task of organising the new Amsterdam church was not an easy one.

John Robinson, the pastor of the American Pilgrim Fathers, retired to Leyden to escape from the contentions of the faithful in Amsterdam, where a further secession was headed by John Smyth, a former minister of a separatist church in Lincolnshire. John Smyth, who, to distinguish him from other famous men of the same name, is sometimes called the Se-Baptist, held Arminian views, which led to an animated controversy. It has been remarked that these last dissidents, although strongly convinced as to "believers' baptism," did not lay stress upon, or indeed refer to, the practice of immersion afterwards so distinctive a feature in the Baptist denomination. Amsterdam was a city of refuge for the persecuted and the destitute, and the three hundred members of the church included some who did not reflect much credit upon it. The refugees were not regarded with favour either by the divines or magistrates of the Netherlands, and even their application to Francis Junius, then professor of divinity at Leyden, had but a lukewarm answer. Objects of persecution at home and of suspicion in exile, they added to the difficulties of their situation by internal dissension. Johnson had married a rich widow, whose fashionable attire gave offence to some of the congregation, and, amongst others, to the pastor's father and brother, who, after many disputes, were excommunicated.

There is a full account in Dr. Dexter's book of this very curious controversy, in which Ainsworth appears to have acted in a friendly and conciliatory spirit. One of the objections urged against the pastor's wife was that she had "bodies tied to the petticoate with points as men do their doublets to their hose contrary to I. Thess. v. 22 conferred with Deut. xxii. 5 and I. John ii. 16." The passages relied upon by this peculiar method of exegesis are: "Abstain

from all appearance of evil." "The woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment: for all that do so are abomination unto the Lord thy God." "For all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world."

The third separation in the Amsterdam society was the result of a controversy between Johnson the pastor and Ainsworth the teacher of the church. The chief point in dispute was as to the exercise of the power of the church and the true meaning of Matt. xviii. 17: "And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the church: but if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." Ainsworth's view was that the power of excommunication belonged to the congregation as a whole, and was not to be used by the elders or officers alone. After many efforts at reconciliation on the part of Ainsworth, he and his friends finally withdrew in December, 1610, and the scoffers were soon able to point to the two congregations whom they styled respectively Franciscan Brownists and Ainsworthian Brownists. Subsequently there was a lawsuit for the possession of the original building. This was brought, not by Ainsworth or by his company collectively, but by some individuals. The decision is unknown, but it appears to have gone against Johnson, who, with his friends, removed to Emden. Ainsworth was now minister for twelve years. This was a busy time, for, in addition to the work of the pastoral office, he wrote a lengthy series of controversial and exegetical works. Many of these are now rare, and in the following list those to be found in the British Museum are indicated by the addition of [B.M.].

1. A true Confession of the faith and humble acknowledgement of the Alegeance which her Majestie's subjects, falsely called Bronists, do hould, &c. 1596, 1602.

2. Apology or Defence of such Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists. Amst., 1604.

   This is a joint work with F. Johnson. There were Dutch translations in 1612 and 1670.

3. Certayne questions concerning (1) silk or wool, in the High Priest's Ephod (2) Idol temples, commonly called churches (3) The forme of prayer commonly called the Lord's Prayer (4) Excommunication &c. handled between H. Broughton and Henry Ainsworth. London, 1605 [B.M.].

   It was in this year that Ben Jonson satirised Hugh Broughton in his comedy of *Volpone.*

4. Answer to Mr. Stone's Sermon. 1605.

   This has disappeared, but is mentioned in Lawne's *Brownisme turned the inside outward.* London, 1613 [B.M.].

5. The Communion of Saincts. A treatise of the fellowship that the faithful have with God and his Angels, and one with another in the present life. Gathered out of the Holy Scriptures by H. A. Reprinted in the year 1615 [B.M.]; 1628; Nova Belgia, 1640 [B.M.]; 1641; Aberdeen, 1844.

   Dexter thinks this was first issued in 1607.

6. An Arrow against Idolatrie. By H. A. 1611 [B.M.], 1617, 1624, 1640 [B.M.].

7. Counter-poyson, Considerations touching the Points in difference between the godly ministers of the Church of England, and the seduced Brethren of the Seperation—Arguments that the best Assemblies of the present Church of England are true visible Churches—That the Preachers in the best Assemblies of England are true Ministers of Christ—Mr. Bernard's Book entitled, the Separatist's Schism—Mr. Crawshaw's questions propounded, in his Sermons preached at the Cross—Examined and answered by H. A. 1608 [B.M.], 1612, 1642 [B.M.].

8. An Epistle sent unto two daughters of Warwick from H. N. [Henry Nicholas] the oldest father of the Familie of Lane. With a Refutation of the errors that are therein. By H. A. Amsterdam. 1608 [B.M.].

9. A Defence of the holy Scriptures, Worship and Ministry, used in the Christian Churches seperated from Antichrist, against the Challenges, Cavils, and Contradictions of M. Smyth, in his Book entitled, "The Differences of the Churches of the Separation." Hereunto are annexed, "a few animadversions upon some of M. Smyth's censures, in his answer made to M. Bernard." By Henry Ainsworth, Teacher of the English exiled Church at Amsterdam. Imprinted at Amsterdam, by Giles Thorp. 1609 [B.M.].

10. The Booke of Psalmes, englished both in Prose and Metre; with annotations opening the words and sentences by conference with other scriptures. By Henry Ainsworth. Eph. v. 18, 19. Amsterdam printed, &c. 1612 [B.M.], 1617 [B.M.], 1626, 1639, 1644 [B.M.].

11. An Animadversion to Mr. Richard Clifton's Advertisement, who, under pretence of answering Chr. Laune's Book, hath published another man's

private Letter, with Mr. Francis Johnson's Answer thereto. Which letter is here justified; the answer thereto refuted; and the true causes of the lamentable breach that hath lately fallen out in the English exiled church at Amsterdam manifested. Imprinted at Amsterdam by Giles Thorp. Anno Dom., 1613 [B.M.].

12. Annotations upon the first book of Moses called Genesis. 1616, 1621.
13. Annotations upon the second book of Moses called Exodus. 1617, 1626.
14. Annotations upon the third book of Moses called Leviticus. 1618, 1626.
15. Annotations upon the fourth book of Moses called Numbers. 1619 [B.M.].
16. Annotations upon the fifth book of Moses called Deuteronomie. 1619 [B.M.].
17. Annotations upon the five books of Moses. 1619, 1621, 1626, 1627 [B.M.], 1639 [B.M.].
18. Annotations upon the five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Songs. London, 1627, 1639. A Dutch translation 1690. German translation 1692.
19. The trying out of the truth, begun and prosequitted in certain letters and passages between John Aynsworth and Henry Aynsworth: the one pleading for, the other against, the present religion of the Church of Rome. The chief things here handled are, 1. Of God's word and Scriptures, whether they be sufficient rule of our fayth. 2. Of the Scriptures expounded by the Church and of unwritten tradition. 3. Of the Church of Rome, whether it be the trewe Catholic Church, and her sentence to be received as the certayne truth. Published for the good of others by E. P. in the year 1615 [B.M.].

    This is an interesting memorial of the religious controversy of the Elizabethan age. John Ainsworth, who had abjured Anglicanism and was imprisoned in London as a recusant, put forth a challenge to a written debate, and invited Henry Ainsworth to notice this cartel. In reply to this, the Brownist minister, writing from Amsterdam, refers to his opponent as "in nation and in name and I know not whether also for nearer alliance, being meet." Four letters were addressed to each other by the disputants, and in the published volume Henry Ainsworth ends with a short reply. The discussion extended from 1609 to 1613. It has been said that John and Henry were brothers, but of this there is absolutely no evidence.

20. A Reply to the pretended Christian Plea for the Antichristian Church of Rome, published by Francis Johnson, A.D. 1617. Wherein the weakness of the said Plea is manifested and arguments alleged for the Church of Rome, and Baptisme therein, are refuted. Anno 1618. Printed in the year 1620 [B.M.].
21. Solomon's Song of Songs in English metre. 1623, 1626.

    Ainsworth does not shine as a poet. Here is his metrical translation of Solomon's Song, v. 9-11.

What is thy Lief more than another Lief,
O thou that hast amongst women beauty chief?
Thy Lief than other Liefs what is he more
That thou adjuring chargest us so sore?
My wel beloved white and red appears;
Above ten-thousand he the banner bears,
His head, is fine gold, solid-gold-of-Fess:
His locks are curled as a Raven is.

The use of "Lief" in this passage is unusual, if not unique.

22. A Seasonable Discourse, or, A Censure upon a dialogue of the anabaptists, entitled, A Description of what God hath predestinated concerning man. 1623, 1642 [B.M.], 1643 [B.M.], 1645, 1651.

23. Certain Notes of Mr. Henry Aynsworth his last sermon. Taken by pen in the publique delivery by one of his flock, a little before his death. Anno 1622. Published now at last by the said writer as a love token of remembrance to his brethren, to inkindle their affections to prayer, that scandalls (of manie years continuance) may be removed, that are barrs to keep back manie godly wise and judicious from us, whereby we might grow to further perfection again. Imprinted 1630. The preface is signed Sabine Staresmore. The text is I. Peter ii. 4.

24. Advertisement touching some objections against the Sincerity of the Hebrew text; and the allegations of the Rabbins in his Annotations. 1639.

This, although believed to have been printed separately, is included in the Annotations on the Pentateuch. It arose out of an attack by John Paget, minister of the English Reformed Church at Amsterdam, who took offence at the admission of a woman as member of Ainsworth's congregation, who had previously belonged to Paget's church!

25. The old orthodox foundation of Religion. Long since collected by that judicious and eloquent man Mr. Henry Ainsworth for the benefit of his private Company and now divulged for the publicke good of all that desire to know that corner stone Jesus Christ. By S. W. London. 1641 [B.M.], 1653 [B.M.].

26. Two Treatises. The first, Of the Communion of Saints. The second entitled An arrow against idolatry, etc. To this edition is prefixed some account of the life and writings of the author. [By Dr. Stuart.] Edinb. 1789 [B.M.].

27. Annotations upon the Pentateuch, Psalms and Song of Solomon; with a memoir of the author. 2 vols. Glasgow. 1843 [B.M.]

W. Bartlett, writing in 1647, speaks of a "large treatise," by Ainsworth, entitled, *Guide to Sion.* This is not otherwise known, and may perhaps be a mistaken reference to *Syon's Prerogative Royal,* which appeared in 1641, and

though without name is regarded as the work of Ainsworth's successor, John Canne. It is, however, not what even now one should call a large treatise, and is but a Lilliputian specimen of the scripturient powers of the theologians of the seventeenth century. The foregoing list will show that Henry Ainsworth was a busy and voluminous writer, both as controversialist and as commentator. He did not, as we have seen, even disdain the Muses, but his versification is of the baldest. The curious in hymnology, who consult his Annotations upon Exodus xv., will find the music to which his Song of Moses was sung by the little church at Amsterdam. He had not the faintest breath of poetical inspiration. Henry Ainsworth, left behind him a large quantity of MSS. which appear to have been dispersed. This is known from a passage in one of Dr. John Worthington's letters, in which he bears an emphatic testimony, both to the character and attainments of Henry Ainsworth. "There is another author whose remains are most worthy to be retrieved,—I mean Mr. Ainsworth, whose excellent Annotations upon the Pentateuch, &c., sufficiently discover his great learning, and his most exact observation of the proper idioms of the holy text with every iota and tittle of which he seems to be as much acquainted as any of the Masoreths of Tiberias." Dr. Worthington goes on to mention works on Hosea, Matthew, and the Epistles to the Hebrews, which Ainsworth had left; but which, owing to some difficulty as to price or copyright between Ainsworth's son and his successor, John Canne, had not been printed. The value of Ainsworth's exegetical writings was attested also by Bishop Hall, Cotton, Doddridge, Calmet, Poole, and Clarke. Time has not entirely destroyed the value of his Annotations, for they were helpful to the Company of Old Testament revisers (Dexter, p. 342).

Ainsworth's character is one of the pleasantest, modest,

amiable, and conciliatory; acting with moderation under difficult circumstances; unwilling to enter upon controversy and yet not shrinking from it when duty called; perhaps his greatest service to English nonconformity was the establishment of a tradition of learning and culture, so that even the world who despised the sectary bowed to the scholar whose acquirements in rabbinical and oriental literature—as it was then understood—were equalled by few in Europe. This combination led Moreri and others to suppose that Henry Ainsworth the Annotator, and Henry Ainsworth the Brownist, were distinct individuals.

Dr. Dexter quotes a passage from Paget—certainly an unscrupulous and biassed witness,—who declares that Ainsworth was originally a member of the Church of England—as, indeed, he must have been,—separated from her, then in London rejoined her communion, but left her, and once more, when in Ireland "and in some danger for your scandall," at least nominally, resumed his allegiance. Even if there were any waverings in Ainsworth's youth—which is by no means certain,—yet, during all the period of his public life, from 1596 to his death, we find him constant to the despised and unpopular form of Christianity which he had adopted.

Of Ainsworth's domestic life nothing is known. He married in 1607. A son survived him, but what other family he may have had is unknown. The registry of his marriage has already been cited.

Various accounts have been given of Ainsworth's death, which occurred at the end of 1622 or the beginning of 1623. Neal, in his *History of the Puritans* (vol. i., p. 437, 1754 edit.), says: "His death was sudden, and not without suspicion of violence; for it is reported, that, having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it in print; and when the owner, who was a

Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his rabbies upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messiah, which the other promised; but not having interest enough to obtain it, 'tis thought that he was poisoned." Other accounts say that Ainsworth "obtained this conference, and so confounded the Jews, that from spite and malice they in this manner put an end to his life." Dr. Stuart considered "that the whole, however, is delivered with so little confidence, that the event itself seems by no means perfectly ascertained." The publisher of Ainsworth's *Seasonable Discourse* (1623), in his prefixed address to the reader, though he mentions very particularly the decayed state of Ainsworth's health, says nothing of this alleged cause of his death, and represents him rather to have laboured under continual infirmity of body for some time. It is not likely that the effects of poison would have been so gradual, or that this writer, who seems to have been closely connected with him, could have been ignorant of his having been cut off by it; or, if he knew that circumstance, it is equally unlikely that he would have been silent concerning it. Mr. Dexter (p. 344) says that there are radical improbabilities in this story, apart from the "fundamental unlikelihood that Ainsworth ever picked up a great diamond in the streets, viz.: (1) that he should have 'insisted' on any 'reward' whatever, other than the pleasure of restoring the property to its lawful owner; (2) that, under either hypothesis, the Jews should have been villainous enough to murder one whom they knew to be an eminently good man, and who had just done one of their race a very great favour." He thinks it most likely that Ainsworth fell a victim, as many of his co-patriots had done, to the damp climate of Holland, and died of pulmonary disease.

Fortunately, there remains upon record a very circumstantial account of the causes of Ainsworth's death; and, as this has escaped the notice of his biographers, it may be well to call attention to it. In the curious book by Dr. Mead, on *the Influence of the Sun and Moon upon Human Bodies*, as translated by Thomas Stack (London, 1748), he says (p. 60): "Tulpius relates the case of Mr. Henry Ainsworth, an English minister, at Amsterdam, who had a fit of the gravel and suppression of urine every full moon; of which he found no relief till the moon decreased, unless by bleeding at the arm. After his death two large stones were taken out of his bladder; and the pelvis of the left kidney was enlarged to that degree by the quantity of urine so often stop'd there as to contain almost as much as the bladder itself." Nicholas Tulp, M.D. of Leyden University, was a celebrated physician of Amsterdam, who lived 1593-1674. His *Medical Observations* were frequently reprinted. As his account of Ainsworth's symptoms (*Obs.* lib. ii. cap. 43, edit. 1739) is a little fuller than Mead's, and is evidently derived from his own observations, it may be well to cite it in his own words (p. 163):

ISCHURIA LUNATICA.

Henrico Ainswordo, Theologo Britanno, supprimebatur urina, quolibet ferme plenilunio: cum insigni angustiâ, & evidenti totius corporis incendio. Neque excernebatur illa iterùm; nisi vel declinante lunâ; vel exsolutâ brachii venâ. Verùm sanguinem toties mittere, quotiens Luna orbem suum complens, supprimeret ipsi lotium: non videbatur è re ægri. Qui propterea aliquotiens, tulit patienter, quot nequiit altrinsecùs evitari, malum.

Cujus rarus, & inusitatus rumor, ut excivit varia, cùm nostratium, tum Britannorum Medicorum ingenia: invenit tamen neminem tam sagaci judicio: ut potuerit reddere genuinam, reciprocantis hujus periodi, rationem: nedum subiti, illius auxilii; quod æger dictum, ac factum percepit, à sanguine ex brachio misso.

Sola anatome, post obitum instituta, eruit illic feliciter veritatem in profundum demersam: & ostendit distinctè, quî angusta, renis sinistri, pelvis, excrevisset in eam amplitudinem, ut suppléret commodè vicem, vesicæ uniariæ. Quæ propterea tam fuit vacua, quàm ren repletus.

Quæ collectio urinæ, majoribus venis adeò vicina, procul dubio, in causa

fuit, quod tam promptè fluxerit ipsi lotium, simulac feriretur brachii vena. Nam velut œnopolæ, spiritu suprà priùs emisso, facilè vinum infra eliciunt, ex repletis doliis: sic reserantur quoque renes, ubi vel minimum, spirituosi sanguinis adimitur tumidis brachii venis. Ex quarum incisione, vident propterea peritiores. Medici, non tam sisti, quàm promoveri sæpè mulieribus, suppressa menstrua.

Sed quid dicendum, de lunæ consensu? quæ uti reliquis dominatur aquis: sic videtur quoque vim suam exseruisse, in lotium hujus venerabilis Theologi. Cujus urinam, in rene detentam, suppressit intumescens hoc sidus, longè faciliùs, & dispersit suppressam fortè multò celeriùs, per vicinas venas; quàm si delituisset in remotioris vesicæ receptaculo.

A quâ periodicâ, reciprocantis urinæ, revolutione, credibile utique est provenisse, quas singulis pleniluniis, patiebatur, cùm febres, tum angustias. Quibuscum plerumque conflictabatur ad diem quintum; antequam ex toto liberaretur. Sed sanguine, ex brachio, emisso, resolvebatur ilicò frænum, lotium supprimens. Quantumvis vesica præter hoc impedimentum, in se præterea contineret, duos insignes calculos. Uti quoque folliculus fellis, sed parvos, nigros, teretes, &, instar pumicis, raros.

Quantum verò huic Theologo profuit, sanquis ex brachio detractus, tantùm juvere alios, in simili urinæ suppressione, vel sanguis ubertim è naribus profluens; vel frequens macularum, in habitu corporis, eruptio. Quibus duobus auxiliis sanitatem suam aliquando recuperavit, Juvenis quidam, cui integros octodecim dies stagnaverat urina.

Dr. C. J. Cullingworth has favoured us with the following interesting observation on the case of Ainsworth:—

It seems to me that the account, given by Tulpius, of the appearances, found on examination of the body after death, completely settles the question. If the narrative were to be summarized in the medical phraseology of the present day, it would be said that Ainsworth suffered from renal calculus, causing from time to time large accumulations of urine in the pelvis of the kidney (hydronephrosis) from mechanical obstruction, and, in all probability, proving ultimately fatal from blood-poisoning (uræmia). The symptoms of this form of blood-poisoning would be very likely to arouse, in the minds of the ignorant and suspicious, the idea that he had been poisoned.

The symptoms due to obstruction no doubt occurred during the passage, along the ureter, of the two calculi that were, after death, discovered in the bladder.

It may be thought that too much attention has been given to this absurd story, but malevolent accusations against the Jews are the common poisoned weapons of bigotry in every age. Such falsehoods should be vigilantly exposed and rigorously denounced. Partly for this reason, and also on account of the character of Ainsworth which it

contains, it may be worth while quoting the words of one of his flock, who edited his posthumous metrical translation of Solomon's "Song of Songs" (1623):

Christian Reader be pleased to take notice that the Lord, in whose hand our life is, tooke to himselfe this reverend and judicious man Mr. Henry Ainsworth, before he had perfected this his last labour as his desire was; for he had writ a title for the Argument, but we finde it not. Besides, his purpose was to revise the worke before it should be made publicke, had the Lord restored his health and enlarged his daies; but so, as the Lord tooke his life from the earth, he willed and consented to have it printed, as his last farewell to his friends, and as a pledge of his love, requesting thine acceptance in the same duty, as it is tendred for thy welfare. For the worke, I forbeare to commend it, hoping the work itselfe will draw affection, by the worth that the godly judicious will finde in it. Of this kind he hath wrot divers, upon the bookes of Moses and the Psalmes, but (in my shallow understanding) he hath (like the Swan, as some report at his death) sang sweetliest in this. Workes of other subjects he hath wrot divers, all usefull and profitable, for the people and Churches of Christ: For which as the Lord is to have the glory, so in equity he may not be denyed his due commendations: But that is not to be expected of me, whose meannesse is too too farre short to value the excellencies that were in him, ne sutor ultra crepidam. Besides I being one of his Charge, if I commend him it may happily be applied to me, as one that openeth his mouth wide to praise his neighbour in the gate. Yet to stop the mouth of opened envy, and to performe in reverence and thankfulnesse some duty in this behalfe, and that others may labour to be imitators of those good things they heare, and I knew to be in him, which I doubt not but all that knew him will testifie with mee. Hee was of nature kinde, curteous and affable; of disposition humble, meeke, loving and peaceable. In judgement sound, modest and judicious; in knowledge excelling most, as an able Minister of the new Testament continuing a lightsome starre in Gods right hand, where the Lord placed him, in speach profitable, and familiar. Patient in bearing injuries, not opening his mouth to disgrace in the least, even him that notoriously and untruely slandered him; but clearing himselfe, commended his case to him that judgeth justly. Briefly, for personall qualification hee was a man of a thousand; yea worthy the ranke of them that are to be preferred before ten thousand. In his ministry painfull and faithfull, as a workman that needeth not to bee ashamed. Full of faith and good works, fruitfull in his life, comfortable in his death to all the beholders, of which there were many, myselfe being one amongst the rest. But I must forbeare to enlarge further in that the more I consider of those excellencies that were in him, and the sweet society and profitable converse wee enjoyed in him, the more doth it pierce my heart with griefe, when I doe consider the losse, not onely I, but the whole Church of God that depended upon him hath in speciall: besides the generall want amongst others, by such profitable labours for generall good, had the Lord been pleased to give life and health to him.

It is not always, we know, that a prophet has honour in his own country. Henry Ainsworth was one of those who "scorn delights and live laborious days;" he bore his cross faithfully and did not shrink from the poverty, suffering, and exile that were the penalty of his adherence to unpopular opinions; he gave to controversy only that which he was forced to do, and devoted the greater part of his days and of his immense and careful scholarship to the congenial task of Biblical elucidation. Let us hope that the congregation to which he ministered were as appreciative in his lifetime as after his death, and that in their faithful and affectionate regard, Ainsworth had some compensation for the many toils and privations of his long and honourable life.

AN OBSCURE FUNERAL CUSTOM.

BY ROBERT LANGTON.

WHETHER the title of my paper is the best I could have chosen may be a matter of opinion. It is, however, the best I could arrive at after much thought, and after searching the pages of many scores of volumes of the various metropolitan and county archæological societies.

In my somewhat varied reading on the subject of urn-burial, as practised by the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, I have had my attention called to a very curious fact, which has been but little commented on by our great modern authorities. It is briefly this, that in Celtic or British interments all over England, whether the bodies had been buried entire or burnt to ashes, it has been proved that the aborigines, whoever they were, in constructing the mound or barrow, after depositing the remains, scattered fragments of flint, mingled with broken pottery and pebbles, through all the mass of the tumulus.

It is quite certain that this cannot have been accidental, and equally certain that it has not been done by ignorant explorers of the mounds, who have been charged by some with scattering the remains, together with any flints, potsherds, &c., that may have been found with the ashes in their unholy search for expected treasure. This

last notion is quite untenable; indeed, Bateman, one of our greatest explorers of what Tennyson calls "the grassy barrows of the happier dead,"*—Bateman, in his *Ten Years' Diggings* in Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, noticed these scattered deposits of flints and potsherds, and says of them "many diggers have been thrown off the scent by finding fragments of pottery, &c.," and goes on to say that, so far from these fragments proving that the interment had been previously disturbed, he came to the conclusion that where these flints and other things were found near the surface and extending through the whole mass, he came to look upon it as certain that they were then about to open the graves of pre-historic man. That opinion has been adopted by others, and is now, I believe, very generally accepted as true.

I said just now that these British tumuli strewn with flints and broken pots were found all over England, or nearly so, and I will now give a few of the many instances where they have been wonderingly observed by individual explorers in different parts of the country.

In vol. ix. of the *Archæologia*, p. 211, is an account of Warton Crag, eight miles from Lancaster, where many cairns or tumuli remain unopened to this day. The paper is by William Hutchinson, F.S.A., and describes a number of rocking stones and other British remains. "Warton Crag is a lofty conical eminence terminating obtusely, in height near one thousand feet above the level of the sea, in the bay called by Ptolemy the Bay of Morecambe." The writer says, farther on, "Mr. Gibson and Mr. Jenkinson are the only people in the neigbourhood who have yet paid any attention to these local curiosities." This, however, was written many years ago.

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* Tennyson's *Tithonus*.

In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxiii., p. 142, there is a description of the British barrows in Holyhead Island, and at the end the writer asks very innocently, "But how are we to account for the numerous fragments of pottery, flints, &c.?" In vol. xxxvi., Mr. H. Stopes, F.G.S., says, speaking of some mounds in Essex, "They just fringe the full tide-line of the rivers and estuaries—they contain flints and broken pottery of the rudest type." "It is very strange," says the writer of this paper, "that they should have for so long a time failed to excite the attention of antiquaries or archæologists, for it is just possible they may be able to fit the key to some of the ciphers of our half-revealed past history."

In *Nenia Britannica*, or a sepulchral history of Great Britain, by the Rev. James Douglas, 1793, p. 10, the following passage occurs: "In this grave (on Chatham lines) I observed several shards, and pebbles, which are by no means native of the chalk and which I have reason to think had been intentionally thrown in with the body." In the journal of the Archæological Association, vol. xvii., p. 73, is a paper read before the association by Professor Buckman, February 27th, 1861, in which he gives an account of finding flints with broken pottery in a thick bed of oolite gravel. "The soil at the top of the gravel was full of flints and bits of broken pottery (mostly black)," the locality of the gravel bed was Oakley Park, near Cirencester. In vol. xxi., p. 267, the Rev. George Condew, M.A., sent an account of the discovery of human remains at Helmingham, Suffolk. In it he says "black funereal pottery and fragments of other ancient urns were found in the earth *above* the skeletons, nowhere below them or at their level. Within a few yards of *The wilderness*, the spot in which they lie, is a field of the glebe of four acres with *Ancient British Remains* (as proved by excavation) in nearly every part of it." In

vol. xxii., p. 448, is an account of the opening of a barrow in Berkshire by the Rev. J. Adams, M.A., about half a mile south of Great Shefford. He says: "The bits of pottery must have been scattered over the barrow in the course of its formation, because they were found in every part of it, and most plentifully underneath the flints; but hardly ever two pieces of the same vessel together. Not a single unbroken specimen of pottery was dug up." This was undoubtedly a British barrow. Flint and bone implements were found in it. In Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, we find many instances of the discovery of these flint chippings and fragments of pottery in Celtic grave mounds in Derbyshire and the north of Staffordshire, but I have perhaps given already sufficient evidence of the universality of this custom in England at a period so remote, as to be beyond the dawn of history.

It may perhaps be as well to mention here that in many of the places I have referred to, where flint chippings have been found in abundance, no flint is to be obtained but by carrying it many miles from the flint deposits of the East and South Coasts; and it has occurred to me in this connection, that the flint flakes, &c., found on Bull Hill, near Ramsbottom, may possibly once have been incorporated in one or more Celtic barrows, and that on the levelling of these barrows they may have become widely scattered over the surface of the hill. This may be well worth enquiring into.

Of the manners and customs of these remote Celtic races of mankind, we know absolutely nothing. As Horace Smith says,—

> "Antiquity appears to have begun,
> Long after *their* primeval race was run."

But it is the opinion of Canon Greenwell, and was the opinion of Bateman, Llewellyn Jewitt, Thomas Wright,

Akerman, Wylie, and still farther back of Rev. James Douglas, that here we are face to face with the traces of some forgotten and mysterious religious ceremony, a fuller description and development of which I hope to be able to lay before the Society at no very distant time.

I am coming presently to the evidence of the existence of this custom on the continent of Europe, but before doing so I will say here that in the course of my reading on this subject I was struck with the idea that Shakspere must have known something of this custom, as he knew, I fancy, something of most customs, for in *Hamlet*, in the churchyard scene, act v., Laertes says, "What ceremony else?" and the priest replies,—

> Her obsequies have been as far enlarg'd
> As we have warrantise: her death was doubtful;
> And but that great command o'ersways the order,
> She should in ground unsanctified have lodg'd,
> Till the last Trumpet; for charitable prayers,
> Shards, flints, and pebbles, should be thrown on her:
> Yet here she is allow'd her virgin crants,
> Her maiden strewments, and the bringing home
> Of bell and burial.

There is some mysterious connection between the Pagan ritual I have been trying to describe, and the ceremonies at the funeral of a suicide (known well enough to our great poet I do not doubt), which, so far, I am unable to trace, though I have consulted some good Shaksperean scholars, including Mr. J. O. Halliwell Phillips, but having once noted this remarkable passage I was all the more anxious to see what other writers have said on this subject. I find, then, that the Rev. James Douglas, nearly a hundred years ago, wrote thus: "It is not improbable that this custom (the scattering of flints, &c.) furnished Shakspere with the line in *Hamlet*, 'shards, flints, &c.' Those persons who committed suicide, being deprived the Christian rites of burial, were perhaps interred after this manner peculiar to the Pagans." Akerman,

in his *Remains of Pagan Saxondom*, p. 103, says also in relation to this subject: "Douglas was the first to perceive and remark upon this curious Pagan custom, *viz.* the appearance of shards of pottery among the earth in immediate contact with the body. That these were designedly so placed may be inferred from several circumstances. Their appearance is a sign of promise to the excavator. Mr. Wylie, when occupied in his researches in the Fairford Cemetery, did not fail to perceive these shards; and singularly enough, although he had never seen the *Nenia Britannica*, at once ascribed their presence to the same superstition as had been suspected by Douglas, each concluding that the well-known passage in our great poet had reference to a practice observed at the graves of suicides, where, *more Paganorum*, such fragments were cast upon the body. They are evidently not shards broken on the spot by the mourners, but way-worn or water-worn fragments; and it is probable that superstition required that they should be of that description and not fractured for the express purpose."

I will now give an instance of the prevalence of a similar custom on the Continent. In a letter written in 1845 by the Rev. Ferdinand Keller, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Zurich, to Sir Henry Ellis, explanatory of this same passage in *Hamlet*, he says: "In almost all the accounts of the opening of Pagan sepulchres and tumuli, mention is made of the discovery of fragments of pottery strewn in the soil, which appear to be portions of vessels similar to such as are often found by the side of the human remains interred in these tombs, and consist of earthenware, not baked in a kiln, but imperfectly hardened by a fire. These potsherds are found in sepulchres where there are no urns, and are almost always fragments of different vessels. Archæologists have considered them to be relics of the Lyke-wake held at the funeral. Kleeman observes that 'it

was customary to bring the corpse to the place of interment, clad in festive garments, and show it to the friends; a banquet then commenced, and a share was offered to the deceased. The revelry must have been of a very lively character from the quantities of broken pottery found in these tombs.'"—Quoted in Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, 1861, p. 191.

"Another remarkable circumstance," says the same writer, Mr. Keller, "in connection with Pagan places of burial is the discovery of flints, which are found in all parts of the tumulus, but chiefly over the skeleton, varying considerably in size. This fact has been noticed by antiquaries, who do not appear to have recognised the observance of a heathen custom, and have not ascertained whether it may be regarded as characteristic of the customs of Celtic or Germanic tribes." Mr. Keller supposes that Shakspere had in view some ancient usage, retained possibly in some part of England, in accordance with which those who, like Pagans, had laid violent hands upon themselves, were buried with ceremonies peculiar to the Heathens.

Amongst such sepulchral usages, that of scattering flints and potsherds over the corpse, as shown by the examination of tumuli in Switzerland and South Germany, appears to have been observed. Mr. Keller remarked that if English archæologists succeed in determining to which of the two ancient races of their island the custom recorded in this passage of Shakspere may be ascribed, some light may thereby be thrown on the origin of those sepulchral remains on the Continent which had given rise to so much dispute."

On this letter Mr. Bateman, in his *Ten Years' Diggings*, remarks: "As far as our experience has given an opportunity of coming to a decision, we should unhesitatingly say that the Celtic origin of the custom is demonstrated in the course of the present volume. The fragmentary pottery,

the flints, and the pebbles, to which we would add the teeth of oxen, have been all but universally present in the earlier tumuli opened in the course of our researches."

It remains for me in the present essay to try and gather up the threads of evidence I have adduced, as to the former existence, over a wide area, of this curious and hitherto unexplained funereal custom, and to see if there is at the present any approximate survival of these ancient rites. In a future paper I hope to show something at least of the origin and meaning of it; and if, in the meantime, any of our members can in any way help me to throw a ray of light on this subject, by communicating their knowledge to me, any fact so communicated will be very thankfully received and acknowledged.

Briefly, then, we have the direct evidence of a whole "cloud of witnesses" as to the existence of these Celtic grave mounds strewn with "shards, flints, and pebbles," from Douglas at the end of last century down to the latest diggers of them all, amongst whom may be enumerated Dr. Anderson, Lord Londesborough, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare, in addition to the names I have already given.

That there are many such barrows hitherto unexamined in the two palatine counties which give their names to this Society, there can be no sort of doubt, and I would suggest that some portion of our funds might be wisely expended in the opening and reverend exploration of some one or more of these receptacles of the "ancient venerable dead." The other day I was walking in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, and my attention was attracted to a mural slab let into the west wall of the cloister. It is sacred to the memory of some forgotten "Gentleman of the Chapel Royal," who deceased in 1744, and on it I read the following couplet:

> So earth to earth, so dust to dust descends,
> And where mortality begins, it ends.

I don't know whether these lines are original or whether any of you may have met with them before, but they set me thinking that here in the liturgy of our Church of England, where earth is cast upon the coffin during the service at the grave, is the possible survival of at least a part of the old Pagan custom I have been trying for a long time to elucidate.

Then, as to the burial of suicides. It has come to my knowledge that even down to the commencement of the present century, where suicides have been buried at cross-roads, "pebbles" have been thrown on the uncoffined body by the crowds of people assembled. This happened in Kent, in my own part of the country, hardly in my own time, but in two instances very little before my time. In one of these cases the suicide was a woman, a servant girl, who had poisoned herself.

Finally, as to the survival of the Lykewake, so graphically described by Kleeman, one of the authorities I have quoted.

It is a frequent custom amongst our Celtic neighbours on the other side of the Irish Channel, nay, even in Liverpool and other large towns in England, for the friends of the deceased to assemble and wake him. I am told that to this day, at these orgies, it is deemed the correct thing to offer to the dead at least a portion of the refreshment, chiefly of a liquid nature. And at these gatherings not only do the guests get "lively," as Kleeman calls it, but they often end in a general breaking of pots, of furniture, if there happens to be any, and of each other's heads; and they sometimes assemble in such numbers and are so boisterous as to dance the floor of the room out, and end their funeral obsequies in the cellar.

This, too, surely is a survival, but not exactly of the fittest. Here I leave the subject for the present, hoping to have something more to say on another occasion.

SAMUEL BOLTON, D.D.:
A BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BY THE REV. J. INGLE DREDGE.

(COMMUNICATED BY CHARLES W. SUTTON.)

[AT a recent meeting of this Society, Mr. Axon, in an interesting paper, showed that a notable Puritan divine, who had previously been counted amongst Lancashire authors, could no longer be claimed as a member of that body of worthies. It was a matter of regret that Henry Ainsworth should be lost from the roll; but another Puritan divine and author has been found to take his place. Samuel Bolton, doctor of divinity, is stated by his most recent biographer, Dr. Grosart, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, to have been born in London, in 1606. In this statement he has, of course, followed earlier annalists, who, however, are all wrong; for the discovery was made some years ago by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, vicar of Buckland Brewer, Devonshire, that Dr. Bolton was born at Manchester, in 1607. The late Mr. J. E. Bailey mentioned the fact in 1880 in the excellent introduction to his reprint of *Manchester al Mondo*. Mr. Dredge, who possesses copies of all Bolton's works, has compiled a bibliography of this author, with biographical references, and this is now presented to the members of

the Society. Mr. Earwaker has kindly revised the titles of Nos. i., ii., iii., iv., and vii. from copies of those works in his possession.—C. W. S.]

Born at Manchester, the son of William Bolton. Baptised at the Collegiate Church, 22nd November, 1607; an elder brother, also Samuel, was baptised 21st December, 1606, and buried 1st January, 1606-7. In the Easter term of 1625 he entered Christ's College, Cambridge; was the college contemporary of John Milton, both being admitted to their B.A. degree January, 1628-9, and both graduated M.A. 3rd July, 1632. In 1633 (licence dated 27th February, 1632-3), he was married, in London, to Ellinor Little, being then described as "of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, Clerk, M.A., bachelor, 24." I find "Sam[l] Bolton, M.A., Curate of Harrow," in 1634. Minister at St. Andrew's, Holborn; at St. Martin's, Ludgate; and St. Saviour's, Southwark. On the death of Mr. Bainbrigg, in 1645, Dr. Bolton succeeded him as the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge. The House of Lords, 10th February, 1646-7, ordered "That Mr. Samuell Bolton be added to be One of the Assembly of Divines; and the Concurrence of the House of Commons to be desired herein." The Commons agreed 23rd March, 1646-7; and on 1st April, 1647, Bolton was formally admitted a member of the Assembly, vice Jer. Burroughs, deceased. "In the year 1648, a minister of his name, and probably the same person, attended the Earl of Holland upon the scaffold when he was beheaded in the palace-yard Westminster." In 1651 he filled the office of Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University. Died 15th October, 1654, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and was buried 19th October, in St. Martin's Church, Ludgate Street, London.

Cf. Masson's *Life of Milton*, 1859, vol. i. 184, 225; Brook's

Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iij. 223; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 1837, ij. 644; Sam. Clark's *Lives*, 1683, fol., pt. i., p. 42, where is a portrait by Van Hove; Mitchell's *Minutes of West. Assembly*, 1874, lxxxiv. 344; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iij. 378; Le Neve's *Fasti*, by Hardy, iij. 607, 690; Granger's *Biog. Hist. England*, fifth edit., 1824, ij. 358; *Journal House of Lords*, viij. 719, ix. 41, 53, 67, 93, 98; *Journal House of Commons*, v. 121; *Marriage Licences at the Faculty Office* (Harleian Soc., vol. xxiv.), p. 28; *Cal. Dom. State Papers*, Chas. I.

I.—A Tossed Ship making to safe Harbor, or, a Word in Season to a sinking Kingdome. Wherein Englands Case, and Cure; Her Burthens and Comforts; Her Pressures, and Duties; are opened, and applyed, in diverse Sermons, preached upon the Publick Dayes of Hvmiliation, out of that Propheticall History, Matth. 14. 22 to 28.

By Samuel Bolton, preacher to the Congregation of Saviours Southwark. [Quotations, nine lines.]

London, Printed by *L. N.* for *Philemon Stephens*, and are to be sold at the golden Lion in Pauls Church-yard. 1644.

Octavo. Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory to Robert Earle of Warwick, signed S. Bolton, 3 leaves; To the Reader, and John Downame's "Approbation," 4 leaves; A Table, &c., 4 leaves; pp. 294.

II.—The Trve Bovnds of Christian Freedome: Or a Treatise wherein the Rights of the Law are vindicated, the Liberties of Grace maintained, and the severall late Opinions against the Law are examined and confuted. Whereunto is annexed a Discourse of the Learned John Camerons, touching the threefold Covenant of God with man, faithfully Translated.

By Samuel Bolton Minister of the Word of God at Saviours-Southwark. [Quot^{s} from Aug. and 1 Pet. 2. 16, 5 lines.]

London, Printed by *J. L.* for *Philemon Stephens*, at the Golden-Lion in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1645.

Small octavo. Title, with John Downame's approbation at the back, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory "To the right honovrable Edward Earle of Manchester," signed Samuel Bolton, 3 leaves; To the Christian Reader, dated "April 23. 1645," 2 leaves; The Table, 8 leaves; pp. 401.

The Chetham Library copy has title and collation as above (except that the address and dedication are reversed in order), but imprint and date as follows:—

London, Printed, for *P. S.* and are to be sold by *Augustine Rice* at the three Hearts at the West end of *Pauls*. 1656.

The following is an extract from the *Epistle Dedicatory*:—

" . . . And this *discourse* though weak, yet such as it is, I make bold to *present* to your *Honour* with your *vertuous* and noble Lady, and should onely *convey* it into your bosomes by prayer, did not my *native countrey* and place to which your *Honour* is related, ingage me to adde a few words. A place it is which above *many* others God hath *honoured* both in *strengthening* them to doe their duty, and *preserving* them in it, making them not onely a *Rock* against their enemies, but a *refuge* for their friends, the *releevers* of many places in danger, and the *recoverers* of many lost; It is my earnest *request* to your Honour as bearing relation to them, that *while* they are in *conflict*, they may be *eyed* and relieved; And when it shall please God the *storme* is over, your Honour would *looke* upon that place, in helping to adde to the *honour* of your name upon it, some further *name* of honour to it; and the God of all *grace* and mercy be still a *tower* of protection to them, and a *starre* of direction to you, that you may *know* how to *walke* in wisdome under all the *changes* of his providence to you, and make your *Honour* yet further *instrumentall*, to advance his cause, and *promote* his glory, and when you have *served* him in your *generation* here, take you to his *glory* hereafter; which is the *earnest* and heartie prayer of him,

Manchester.

Whose all is but to serve
you in Christ,
SAMUEL BOLTON."

III.—'AMAPTΩAOΣ 'AMAPTIA: Or, The Sinfulnes of Sin: held forth, in a Sermon preached to the Honourable the House of Commons, at Margarets Westminster, upon their late Solemn day of Humiliation, March 25. 1646.

By Samuel Bolton, Minister of the Gospel at Saviours Southwark.

Published by order of that House.

London, Printed by *G. M.* for *Andrew Kemb*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the Talbut gate in Southwark. 1646.

Quarto. Order for thanks, &c., 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory to the Commons, 1 leaf; Sermon on Matt. i. 21, pp. 37.

See *Journals House of Commons*, iv. 473, 489.

IV.—The Arraignment of Errovr: Or, A Discourse serving as a curb to restrain the wantonnesse of mens spirits in the entertainment of opinions; and as a Compasse, whereby we may sail in the search and finding of truth; distributed into six main Questions.

Quest. 1. How it may stand with Gods, with Satans, with a mans own ends, that there should be erroneous opinions?

Quest. 2. What are the grounds of abounding errours?

Quest. 3. Why so many are carried away with errour?

Quest. 4. Who those are that are in danger?

Quest. 5. What are the examens, or the trials of opinions and Characters of truth?

Quest. 6. What waies God hath left in his Word for the suppressing of errour, and reducing of erroneous persons?

Under which generall Questions, many other necessary and profitable Queries are comprized, discussed, and resolved. And in conclusion of all; some Motives and means, conducing to an happy Accommodation of our present differences, are subjoyned.

By Samuel Bolton Minister of the Word of God at Saviours-Southwark. [Quotations, four lines.]

London, Printed by *G. Miller* for *Andrew Kembe*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the *Talbot gate* in *Southwark*. M.DC.XLVI.

Quarto. Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatorie "To the right honovrable and eminently Noble Patriot, John, Lord Roberts, Baron of Truro.," signed S. Bolton, 3 leaves; "To the Christian Reader" and the approbation of John Downam, 2 leaves; Contents, 4 leaves; pp. 360.

V.—Deliverance in the Birth: Or, a Sermon preached before the Right Honourable the House of Peeres in the Abbey-Church at Westminster upon the 29 of July 1646, being the day of their solemne Monethly Fast. And the time of our hopefull expectations of a happy conclusion of our troubles, upon the sending of the Right Honourable the Commissioners of both Kingdomes to his Majesty.

By Samuel Bolton Minister of the Gospel, and Master of Christs Colledge in Cambridge. [Quotations, Isa. 64. 5, and Jas. 3. 18, six lines.]

Cambridge Printed by *Roger Daniel* Printer to the University, and are to be sold by *Andrew Kembe*, next dore to the Talbot-gate in *Southwark*. 1647.

Quarto. Title with Order for thanks, &c., at the back, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory to the House of Peeres, 1 leaf; Sermon on Lam. iij. 26. pp. 42; 1 leaf blank.

See *Journals House of Lords*, viij. 435. 450.

VI.A.—The Gvard of the Tree of life: Or, a Sacramentall Discourse: shewing

A Christians { Priviledge, in approaching to God in Ordinances. / Duty, in his Sacramentall approaches. / Danger, if he do not sanctifie God in them.

By Samuel Bolton, Minister of the Gospel and Master of C. C. C. [Quot. 1 Cor. 11. 27, 29, five lines.]

London, Printed by *A. Miller* for *A. Kembe*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the *Talbot gate* in *Southwark*. 1647.

Small octavo. Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory "To my beloved friends the Godly and Well-affected of Saviours-Southwark," signed "S. Bolton," 3 leaves; A brief Table, with "Imprimatur, John Downam," 2 leaves. Text, Levit. 10. 3. pp. 115. Head lines "*The Wedding Supper, and the Wedding Garment.*"

"Beloved, It is now well-nigh foure years since I was removed from a very loving, a very loving people in the City, and lived among you . . . ." (*Ep. Ded.*)

VI. 3.—The Guard of the Tree of Life. or, a Sacramental Discourse, shewing
Privilege, in approaching to God in Ordinances.
A Christians Duty, in his Sacramentall approaches.
Danger, if he do not sanctifie God in them.

By that Reverend and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, Dr. Samuel Bolton, late *Master of Christs* CoLedge in Cambridge. [Quot. 1 Cor. 11. 27. 29. 5 lines.]

London, Printed by *R. & W. Leybourn*, for *A. Kemi* and are to be sold at his Shop neer the *Talbot gate* in *Southwark*, 1656.

Small octavo. Same description as the edition of 1647. Brook wrongly gives this as two separate works.

VII.—The Dead Saint Speaking, to Saints, and Sinners Living: in severall Treatises. Viz.

The
- Sinfulness and greatest evill that is in Sin, On 2 Sam. 24. 10.
- Loves of Christ to his Spouse, On Cant. 4. 9.
- Nature and Royalties of Faith, On John 3. 15.
- Slowness of Heart to Beleeve, On John 1. 50.
- Cause, Signes and Cure of Hypocrisie, with Motives Helps to Sincerity, On Isaiah 58. 2.
- Wonderfull Workings of God for his Church and People, On Exod. 15. 11.

Never before Published.

By Samuel Bolton, D.D. Late Mr. of Christs Colledge in Cambridge. Prepared for the Presse by himself, during Life.

[*Quotations*, Rom. 7. 14 and 5. 8. Four lines.]

London: Printed by *Robert Ibbitson*, for *Thomas Parkhurst*, and are to be sold at his Shop at the three Crowns, over against the Great Conduit in *Cheapside*, 1657.

Folio. Portrait by G. Faithorne. Title, 1 leaf; Epistle Dedicatory to "Robert Earle of Warwick . . . and the Lady Elianor . . . his most *pious* Consort," by the Widow, Elianor Bolton, 1 leaf; To the Reader, signed "Ed. Calamy," 1 leaf; The Contents, 13 leaves; 16 lines of verse, signed "Ferd. Archer," 1 leaf; Sinne the greatest evil, &c., p. 1 to 38; Title to "A Treatise of the Loves of Christ to his Spouse," 1656, 1 leaf, p. 43 to 96; Title to "A Treatise of the Nature and Royalties of Faith," 1656, 1 leaf, p. 41 to 181; Title to "A Treatise of the Slownesse of Heart to Beleeve," 1656, 1 leaf, p. 185 to 222; Title to "A Treatise of Hypocrisy, 1656," 1 leaf, p. 261 to 352; Title to "A Treatise of the Wonderfull Workings of God for his Church and People," 1656, 1 leaf, p. 355 to 420; Books printed and sold by Thomas Parkhurst, and Errata, 1 leaf. There are several errors of pagination.

"Right Honourable, It was the purpose of my dear Husband

deceased, to have presented these his Works unto you Both, by an Epistle Dedicatory, wherein hee would have spoken his gratitude for your manifold favours." *(Ep. Ded.)*

"There are other very profitable Treatises of this our Reverend, and godly Brother (prepared by himself for the Press) yet behinde, which may happily be brought to light, if God shall please to cause this Book to finde acceptance with his people, for whose spiritual advantage it is intended; And that it may obtain the end for which it is Printed, is the Prayer of Thy Servant in the Work of the Ministry,

ED. CALAMY."

"A Sermon preached at Dr. Bolton's Funerall," was published in 1655, entitled:—"The Saints Transfiguration: or the Body of Vilenesse changed into a Body of Glory. A Sermon preached at Martins Ludgate October 19. 1654. At the Funerall of that Reverend, and faithful Minister of Jesus Christ Dr. Samuel Bolton, late Master of Christs Colledge in Cambridg, With a short account of his Death.

By Edmund Calamy, B.D. Pastor of Aldermanbury in London.

To which are annexed Verses upon his Death, composed by divers of his Friends and Acquaintance.

[Quotations, Isa. 57. 1. and Zach. 1. 5. Five lines.]

London, Printed by *Joseph Cranford* at the Sign of the Phœnix in *Pauls* Churchyard, M.DC.LV."

Quarto. "The Author to the Reader" (very curious), 1 leaf; Title, 1 leaf; Dedication to Robert Earl of Warwick, 2 leaves; Sermon on Phil. 3. 20, 21, p. 1 to 27; Verses, p. 28 to 35. The writers are J. Sedgwick, Chr. Col. C.; T. Standish; Wm. Wolryche; W. Leigh; and John Crofts Minist. C. C. C.

"Before he was Master of Christs College, he preached three or four years in this place, (Martins, Ludgate,) six or seven years at Saviours Southwark, and for some time at Andrews in Holburn, to the great satisfaction of all the godly that waited upon his Ministry." (p. 25.)

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ADMISSIONS TO GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 1558 TO 1678.

BY ERNEST AXON.

OF all the materials for the genealogist, with the exception perhaps of Wills, few are equal in value and authority to the matriculation registers of the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the admission books of their various colleges, and yet, owing no doubt to the fact that these materials remained in manuscript, they were till within the last few years almost unknown. Colonel Chester transcribed the whole of the Oxford matriculations, and drew freely on them when editing the Westminster Abbey registers, but it was not till after his death that they appeared in print. At Cambridge, Professor Mayor has issued a portion of the admissions to St. John's, while in 1887 his good example was followed by Dr. Venn and Mr. S. C. Venn, who edited and published the *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College*, from 1558 to 1678, and it is to this volume I would direct your attention. Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, was, and is, largely attended by students from East Anglia; but at the time of which we treat had also a large sprinkling from other districts, York-

shire sending over two hundred pupils, and Lancashire and Cheshire also sent a considerable number. The information given of each student is extremely full, detailing not only their name, father's name, birthplace, age, but also their schools and schoolmasters; and thus rescuing from undeserved oblivion the names of the teachers of some of our great men.

Although Caius College has been mainly devoted to the education of the people in the counties adjoining it, yet many Lancashire and Cheshire men went there, and others, who were connected with the two counties, though not by birth, also received their education there. Besides these scholars there were two who, neither by birth or education, can now be claimed as local men, the first being Henry Ainsworth, said to have been born near Blackburn, and the other John Brereton, "the Cheshire traveller," whose father was a citizen of Norwich. Of students descended from Lancashire or Cheshire families, four members of the Dod family, formerly of Boughton, co. Chester, were admitted to Caius. One of the entries, that of the admission of Edward, son of Rodolph Dod, corrects an error that the editor of the new edition of Ormerod has fallen into in regarding him as a son of Archdeacon Thomas Dod, of the Shocklach branch of the family. Thomas Gerard, first Lord Gerard, of Gerard's Bromley, and a property owner in Manchester, and his cousins Felix, Philip, and Richard Gerard, though not born in the county, were of a good Lancashire family, while the latter's connection with the district was strengthened by his presentation to the rectory of Stockport in 1577. John Preston, of the Mannour, whose son became a baronet, was born at Dalton, in Lancashire, but educated in Westmoreland. Another member of a local family is the Rev. Charles Worsley, B.A., a nephew of Major-General Worsley and rector of Salthouse, who died at the age of twenty-nine, and

whose lengthy will is printed in Booker's *Birch Chapelry*. Then we have the entry of a George Snell, a Devonshire man, who may perhaps be the loyal George Snell, archdeacon of Chester, who was deprived of his livings in 1645, and died in great poverty before the Restoration. After these strangers with a local connection, we will now take the schools in the two counties, and glance at some of their scholars.

The earliest Lancashire school mentioned in the Caius registers is the important one of Winwick; the first Caius man being Walter Kenyon, who became rector of Bury; while amongst the others educated there may be mentioned Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, who showed his affection for his old school by building a new school-house and increasing its endowment. Legh's schoolmaster was Alexander Arrowsmith, who was unknown to Beamont. During Pickering's mastership, Winwick sent a large number of students: Simon Waterhouse, Thomas Bradshaw, Nathaniel Pickering, son of the master; Thomas Mather, presumably a relation of the Rev. Richard Mather; James and George Sorocold, the latter of whom is not mentioned in the Visitation; Adam Byrom, Thomas Potter, and Richard Marberry. Randolph Gorse, who was for many years master at Winwick, educated a number of Caius students, none of whom, however, seem to have attained distinction. Mr. Jones and Mr. Atkinson are also mentioned as masters at Winwick. Lancaster Grammar School had only one scholar, Bernard Gilpin, and no master is named. Litherland school is represented by William Dean in 1577. The previously named Sir Peter Legh, after leaving Winwick, spent a year at Macclesfield under Mr. John Brownsworth, an eminent schoolmaster, and a Cambridge man. Stockport Grammar School, under the mastership of a Mr. Bamforde, who is not mentioned by Mr. Earwaker in *East*

Cheshire, sent three students to Caius; the first William Nicholson, who entered in 1580, appears to have succeeded Bamford as master. Mr. Harrison was the master of Richard Patrick, of Bispham, admitted in 1589, who was a contemporary at college of William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. The Rev. Robert Marland, master of Rochdale Grammar School from 1605 to 1610, was, after spending four years at St. John's College, admitted to Caius in 1604. Whalley and Clitheroe, respectively, were the schools at which Ralph and Robert Lowde were educated. The Lowde family, though not particularly distinguished, was of sufficiently high rank to have entered at the Visitation in 1664. Ralph Lowde became a fellow of his college and rector of Blakenye, Norfolk. Roger Lowde was a clergyman in Norfolk and afterwards in Yorkshire. Robert Lowde, the youngest brother, became rector of Wiveton, Norfolk. In 1620, Mr. Collinson, master of the Blackburn Grammar School, sent two of his pupils to Caius; in 1629, his successor, Mr. Halsteade, sent one. Theophilus Amyas and John Rishton were the only pupils of Mr. Charles Sager who entered Caius; the latter, John Rishton, appears to be the person of that name who became vicar of Leyland, though the Caius scholar was the son of Nicholas Rishton, while, according to Mr. Abram, the vicar of Leyland was a son of William Rishton. Four of the Caius admissions were from Chester, two masters named being Mr. Williamson and Mr. Liptrot. William Steele, one of Mr. Williamson's pupils, and a native of Sandbach, was called to the bar in 1637, and soon attained a good position. He was Attorney-General for the Parliament, and should have taken an active part in the trial of the King, but when the trial day came, Steele absented himself on the plea of, what was generally considered to be a sham, illness. Steele continued to prosper, however, and even-

tually became, at the age of forty-six, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and afterwards one of Cromwell's House of Lords. He lost his places at the Restoration, and died in poverty; but he had secured his personal safety by betraying state secrets to the Royalists. He is supposed to be the grandfather of Sir Richard Steele. The other Chester scholars, Robert Pickering and Robert Chesshyre, two cousins, both became clergymen. The latter was brother of Sir John Chesshyre, the founder of the library at Halton. Mr. Shenton, of Nantwich, Messrs. Perceval and Fleetcroft, of Halton, Mr. Birch, of Ashton, Mr. Hammer, of Daresbury, Mr. Bradshaw, of Bury, Mr. Jackson, of Burtonwood, Mr. Evans, of Middleton, are schoolmasters, whose students came to Caius between 1629 and 1660. The only Northwich scholar was James Marbury, who became rector of Davenham, his masters being Messrs. Cotton and Swinton. Lymm had three scholars at Caius, Edward Domville, a grandson of Richard Gerard, rector of Stockport, who became a country gentleman and married a sister of George Warburton, another Caius man. The Rev. Richard Comberbach, incumbent of Little Peover, and founder of a school there, and William Brabbin or Brabant, who unlike his younger brother Robert, to be mentioned later, appears to have been content with a college living in Norfolk. Loughton School, under Mr. Ingham, was responsible for James Burchall, who entered Caius in 1666. Mr. Taylor, of Ringley, sent four scholars in three years, William Brabbin, William Turner, James Hart, and Robert Brabbin or Brabant, who became a D.D., and a mighty pluralist, being rector of St. Mary Axe, rector of Berkhamstead, and vicar of Hemel-Hempstead, besides holding prebends in the three cathedrals of St. Paul, Lincoln, and Worcester. Weston, Toxteth Park, Leigh, Chowbent, and Eccles had also scholars at Caius. It is rather curious that only two

private schools are mentioned, one conducted at Cowhill, Rishton, by Mr. Hindley, and the other at Accrington, by Mr. Kennion.

This long list of schools is interesting, as showing that although the population of the two counties was very small, yet education was not by any means neglected, and it is pleasant to find that there were such a large number of places where the teaching was of such a character as to enable the pupils to go to the University.

Dr. Venn is collecting materials for a complete biographical dictionary of all who have studied within the walls of Caius College, and would be glad to receive any references to the career of any of the scholars after they left their *alma mater.*

APPENDIX I.

Alphabetical list of Lancashire and Cheshire students, reprinted, by permission of Dr. Venn, from *Admissions to Gonville and Caius College, March, 1558-9, to January, 1678-9.* Dr. Venn has kindly supplied from unprinted sources the dates of degrees and collegiate honours of each student, and other information enclosed within brackets.

AMYAS, THEOPHILUS, son of Paul Amyas, gent., of Leicester. Born at Crookhaven, Ireland. Schools, Blackburn, Lancashire, under Mr. Sagar, one year; Cowhill (Rishton), at a private school, under Mr. Hindley and elsewhere, two years. Age 17. Admitted sizar, June 24, 1658. Surety, Mr. Jenkes. Admitted scholar, April 1, 1659. Tutor, Mr. Jenkes.
[No degree.]

ARMESTEAD, WILLIAM, of Gisburn, Yorkshire, son of William Armestead, vicar of Chipping, Lancaster. At school, under Mr. Tenant. Age 22. Admitted, Aug. 10, 1616, sizar of his surety, Mr. Thomas Cooke, fellow.
[No degree.]

ASHTON, JOHN, son of Ralph Ashton, Esq. Born at Middleton, Lancashire. At school there, five years, under Mr. Evans; and at Almondbury, Yorkshire, under Mr. Ferrant, about a year. Age 17. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table, June 17, 1660. Surety, Mr. William Naylor. Admitted fellow-commoner, July 23, 1660. Surety, Mr. Naylour.

[illegible] took no degree] was of Barnes, co. York. He is entered in the Preston Guild Books for 1662 and 1682. He was the third son of Colonel Ralph Assheton, and married by license dated 25 August, 1663, Elizabeth, daughter of John Fleetwood, of Penwortham. Penrose MSS. i. 127. The statement in the new edition of Baines's Lancashire ii. 397, that this John was knighted by Charles I. appears to be founded on a misreading of a passage in Whitaker's *Whalley*, 4th edit. i. 152.

ATSWORTH, HENRY, son of Thomas Atsworth, yeoman. Born at Swanton Morley, Norfolk. At school there, under Mr. Cushmann, three years. At St. John's College, under Mr. Furnace, one year. Age 18. Admitted scholar, Dec. 15, 1587. Surety, Dr. Perse, fellow.

Henry Ainsworth, an eminent Biblical commentator, has been frequently claimed as a Lancashire man, and as one of the Ainsworths of Pennington. This entry shows this assumption of Ainsworth's Lancashire birth to be erroneous, and also contradicts the statement of Roger Williams, that "he scarce set foot within a college walls," the fact being that he was at St. John's one year and at Gonville and Caius for another three. He never graduated.

BARTON, RANDLPH, of Malpas, Cheshire, son of Rodolph Barton, Esq. School, Nottingham, four years. Age 19. Admitted fellow-commoner, Ex. grat. July 8, 1575. Surety, Mr. Legge, LL.D., Master of the College.

[No degree.] Randall or Randolph Barton, son of Ralph Barton, of Gray's Inn, M.P. for Wigan 1557-8, was born 1556, and died at the family seat, Smithells, Lancashire, 10 December, 1611, having married Elizabeth, daughter of John Wood, of Turton. Their eldest son was Sir Thomas Barton, Kt., whose only daughter married Henry Beilasis, father of the first Viscount Fauconberg. *Cf.* Foster's *Gray's Inn*, p. 47, and Whitaker's *Whalley*, vol. ii., p. 319.

BIRCH, JOSEPH, son of Hugh Birch, of Manchester. Admitted sizar, April 4, 1654. Surety, Mr. Adamson. Previously admitted at Trinity College, June 25, 1653.

[B.A. 1656. At Trinity one year.] A Joseph Birch, clerk, was presented, 14 February, 1660, to the rectory of Pebmarsh, diocese of London. Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. ii., p. 466.

BRABBIN, ROBERT, son of William Brabbin, gent., of Hulton, Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Ringley, and Leigh, under Mr. Taylor, three years. Age 15. Admitted sizar, Sep. 23, 1671. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

Robert Brabbin, or, as he afterwards called himself, Brabant, graduated B.A. 1675, M.A. 1679, and D.D. 1702. He was rector of Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, from 1681 till his death. Vicar of Hemel-Hempstead, 1686 to 1701; and rector of St. Mary Axe; prebendary of Bedford Major, Lincoln, 1688; prebendary of Reculverland, St. Paul's Cathedral, 1688; prebendary of the 5th stall of Worcester Cathedral, 1708, holding all three prebends at the time of his death, which occurred 21 April, 1722, at Berkhampsted. *Cf.* Neve's *Fasti* ij. 108, 432, iij. 84. Newcourt's *Repertorium*, *Genealogist*, N.S., vol. iv., p. 27, and Cussan's *Hertfordshire*, vol. iii. The

family arms, as given on the monument in Great Berkhamstead Church to the memory of Dr. Brabant's eidest son, were, Ar. on a fess humetté gu. three leopards faces, or.

BRABBIN, WILLIAM, son of William Brabbin, gent., of the parish of Deane, Lancashire. Born there. School, Lymm, Chester, under Mr. Flitgraft, one year; and Ringley, Lancashire, under Mr. Taylor, two years. Age 18. Admitted sizar, March 24, 166$\frac{8}{9}$. Surety, Mr. Ellis.

B.A. 1672, M.A. 1676. Vicar of Matteshall (or Mateshale), co. Norfolk, 1675-1688. In the church this inscription was placed: "Hic jacet in spe beatæ resurrectionis Gulielm. Brabant, A.M. ex agro Lancastriensi hujus ecclesiæ quondam vicarius (et hororatissimo D'no Joh. Egerton, Comiti de Brigewater, . . .) qui ob. 2° Feb. 1688, ætat. suæ 38." Blomfield's *Norfolk*, vol. x., pp. 237 and 239.

BRADSHAW, THOMAS, son of William Bradshaw, carpenter, of Golborne ("Golbran"), Lancashire. School, Winwick, under Mr. Pyckerin, seven years. Age 17. Admitted sizar, Feb. 7, 16$\frac{4}{5}$$\frac{5}{6}$. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[B.A. 1643, M.A. 1649. "Sacellanus," *i.e.*, Chaplain, M^{ri} 1646—M^{s} 1651.] He took the Protestation at Cambridge in 1641-2.

BRATHWAIT, THOMAS, of Skelwith, Lancashire; son of Robert Brathwait, mediocris fortunae. School, Norwich, under Mr. Stonham, five years. Age 16. Admitted scholar, litt. grat. May 11, 1612. Tutor and surety, Mr. James Iken, fellow.

[B.A. 1615, M.A. 1619.]

BRETHERTON LEIGH, son of John Bretherton, gent., of Newton, Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Winwick, under Mr. Gorse, three years; and Burtonwood, under Mr. Jackson, two years. Age 16. Admitted sizar, May 4, 1650. Surety, Mr. Bradshaw.

[No degree.] John Bretherton, of Hey, gent., who was 71 years old at the Visitation 16 March, 1664, married Isabel, daughter of Roger Nowell, of Read, esq., and widow of John Byrom, of Byrom, esq. Leigh Bretherton, his third son, entered Gonville and Caius the same day as his relations, Samuel and Edward Byrom.

BREERTON, JOHN, son of Cuthbert Breereton, citizen of Norwich. School, Norwich, under Mr. Stephen Limbert. Age 17. Admitted pensioner, Jan. 17, 158$\frac{8}{9}$. Tutor and surety, Mr. Alexander Roberts, M.A. fellow.

He was previously a sizar at Caius, matriculated at Cambridge as such, 23 June, 1587, and proceeded B.A. 1592-3. He became a great traveller, and, under Raleigh, explored Northern Virginia in 1602, and published an account of his adventures. Mr. J. E. Bailey thought that he was, in all probability, a Cheshire gentleman, a theory that this entry seems to disprove. Cf. *Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. i., p. 109. *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. vi.

BROOKE, THOMAS, son of Thomas Brooke, M.A., Esquire Bedell of the University. Born in Cambridge, and at school there under Mr. Rodeknight. Age 16. Admitted scholar, litt. grat. April 16, 1610. Tutor and Surety, Mr. Thomas Wetherell, fellow.

The age of this scholar, which almost corresponds with that of Thomas Byrom, the elected minister of Congleton, makes it probable that they were identical. The elected minister was buried August 31, 1684, aet. 72. Calamy, vol. ii., p. 134.

BYRCHALL, JAMES, son of Thomas Burchall, woollen-draper, of "Swinyard in Swinehead," Cheshire. School, Congleton, under Mr. Ingham, five years. Age 16. Admitted scholar, under Mr. Ellys, June 21, 1666.

[B.A. in 1669.]

BYROM, ADAM, son of Henry Byrom, Esq., of Lowton, "Langhton," Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Winwick, under Mr. Pickeringe, three years; Ecclesfield, Yorkshire, under Mr. Worrel, a year and a half; and again Winwick, under Mr. Pickeringe, two years. Age 15. Admitted scholar, June 15, 1646. Surety, Mr. Moore.

BYROM, SAMUEL and EDWARD, sons of Henry Byrom, Esq., of Lowton, Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Winwick, under Mr. Gorse, three years; and Bury, Lancashire, under Mr. Bradshaw, one year. Ages 15 and 14. Admitted scholars, May 4, 1652. Surety, Mr. Bradshaw.

[No degrees.] Henry Byrom, major of foot in the Royalist army, was slain in the battle of Kineton, 23 October, 1642. Of his six sons, two died in infancy; James and Adam [B.A. 1649] were lunatics. Samuel, the fifth son, inherited the estates, married Margery, daughter of George Venables, of Agion, co. Chester, Esq., and was grandfather of the well-known spendthrift "Beau" Byrom. Edward, the youngest son, entered the family pedigree, 23 September, 1664, at the Herald's Visitation, "on behalf of his elder brother." See Byrom's *Remains*, Chet. Soc., and W. A. Abram in *Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Notes*, vol. ii., pp. 91-100 and pp. 153-155.

CAVE, VINCENT, son of Henry Cave, gent., of Simonstone ("Simpston"), Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Hoddesdon, Herts., under Mr. Walters, three years; and at a private school in London, two years. Age 18. Admitted scholar, August 20, 1658. Surety, Mr. Nailor. Admitted fellow-commoner, Nov. 26, 1663. Surety, Mr. Felton.

[B.C.L. 1664. Jun. fell. LL.D. 1668. Admonished "for hollowing in the pump" at night, Ju. 23, 1660. (College "Gesta.")]

CHESHIRE, ROBERT, son of Thomas Cheshire, of Halton, Cheshire. Born there. Schools, Halton, under Mr. Fleetcroft, two years; Chester, under Mr. Liptrough, a year and a half; and Weston, under the same master, a year and a half. Age 16. Admitted scholar, May 14, 1670. Surety, Mr. Ellis.

Robert Chesshyre, B.A. 1673, M.A. 1677, was vicar of Runcorn from 24 April, 1686, till his death in 1740. Ormerod, i. 679. His wife was the daughter of Archdeacon Finmore of Chester, *City News N. & Q.*, March 13, 1880. He was brother to Sir John Chesshyre, knight, serjeant at law, and founder of the library at Halton. *Local Gleanings*, vol. iii., p. 289, and Beamont's *Halton and Norton*, p. 136.

CHRYCHLOWE, JAMES, of Euxton ('Exton'), Lancashire; son of Richard Chrychlowe. At school, under Mr. Bryars. Age 24. Admitted scholar, July 2, 1613. Surety, Mr. Naylor.

[No degree.] A James Critchlow became incumbent of Langho, Blackburn, 1649, having been approved (as James Critchley) at a meeting of the second classis of the Lancashire Presbytery, held at Whalley, July 10, 1649 (Abram's *Blackburn*, p. 449); and a clergyman of the same name was instituted vicar of Childwall, May 20, 1625 (Baines, vol. ii., p. 259); but whether either or both were identical with the above scholar does not appear.

CLIFTON, JOHN, of Hornby, Lancashire; son of John Clifton, gent. School, Giggleswick, three years. Age 18. Admitted pensioner, litt. grat. May 6, 1575. Tutor and surety, Mr. John Depup, M.A. fellow. Assigned the first lower cubicle next the chapel, on the east side of the Caius court.

[No degree.]

CLOUGH, JAMES, son of Gervase Clough, doctor ("medicus"), of Ashton? ("Nashton"), Lancashire. School, Winwick, under Mr. Goaret, five years. Age 21. Admitted sizar, July 2, 1667. Surety, Mr. Bagge.

B.A. 1670, M.A. 1674. [Rector of Berningham Winter, 1680. Rector of Suffield, 1686–1713. Died December, 1713. Mont. in Suffield Ch.]

COMBERBATCH, RICHARD, son of Ralph Comberbatch, gent., of Lymm, Cheshire. Born at Latchford. School, Lymm, under Mr. Richardson, nine years. Age 21. Admitted sizar, March 30, 1665. Tutor and surety, Mr. Ellys.

B.A. 1668. Dr. Marshall, in his *Family of Comberbach*, p. 15, gives an account of a Rev. Richard Comberbach, whom he considers to have been the above student. This Rev. Richard was perpetual curate of Little Peover, near Knutsford, from 1686 till his death in 1711, and was at one time a non-juror. He endowed a school there, and left a dole of bread to the poor. A brass with a Latin inscription is in Little Peover Church, and will be found on p. 48 of Dr. Marshall's book.

DEANE, WILLIAM, son of Thomas Deane, mediocris fortunae. Born in Grassington ("Garsington"), Yorkshire. Schools, Leeds, and Litherland ? ("Letherall") Lancashire, four years. At Magdalene College two years. Age 20. Admitted pensioner minor, "tertii ordinis" litt. grat., November 4, 1577. Assigned a cubicle with his surety, Mr. R. Draper, M.A., fellow.

[No degree.]

DICKENSON, JOHN, of Newton, Lancashire; son of Bryan Dickenson, husbandman, deceased. School, Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmoreland, under Mr. Hudson, seven years. Age 19. Admitted June 24, 1608, litt. grat., sizar of his tutor and surety, Mr. John Webb, fellow.

[No degree. Died in college. Buried at St. Michael's, Cambridge, 26 March, 1610.]

DILWORTH, JAMES, of Lancashire, son of John Dilworth, husbandman. School, Blackburn, under Mr. Collinson. Age 17. Admitted sizar, June 16, 1620. Surety, Mr. Loude, fellow.

[B.A. 1623, M.A. 1627.]

EDWARDS, THOMAS, son of John Edwards, gent. Born at Chipping, Lancaster. School, Blackburn, under Mr. Eastwick four years. Age 18. Admitted April 28, 1637, sizar of his surety, Mr. Austin, senior.

[No degree.]

DOD, EDWARD, son of Randolph Dod, gent., deceased. Born at Bennington, Herts. At school there, under Mr. Wilbraham, five years. Age 17. Admitted sizar, Feb. 4, 1638. Surety, Mr. Laverani.

[No degree.] Edward Dod is mentioned as Edward Randle Dod in Harleian Genealogist, i. 688, as probably a son of Archdeacon Thomas Dod, D.D., of the Shrocklach family. This error arose from a careless reading of the following inscription, which appeared in the Cheshire Sheaf, i. 41, from a brass plate in St. Michael's Church, Chipchase.—

"Prope jacet Edwardus Randolph Dod de Shrocklesige in comitatu Cestrensi, generosus, quondam Collegii hujus Generosus per triennium alumnus, optime spei juvenis, qui vitam mortalem cum immortali commutavit 26 Sept. 1636. æt. 13.

In hoc mortuum . . . mortalem febrem.
Caste puer flammis ne sævis vrere vivum
Ut crederam, vitam febre fusse tuis.
Flamma digne puer, melioris. In quoque suorum
Spiritibus vivus, jam novus ignis eris."

DOD, EDWARD, son of Thomas Dod, gent., of Whitlesford, Cambs. Born there. School, Felstead, Essex, under Mr. Hutchinge, two years: and Newport, under Mr. Woodley, half-a-year. Age 15. Admitted Feb. 25, 1641, pensioner to the bachelors' table. Surety, Mr. Begg.

[No degree.]

DOD, NATHANAEL, of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen, Norfolk, son of Ralph Dod, minister. School, Lynn, over two years, under Mr. Armitage. Age 18. Admitted, Aug. 1, 1618, sizar of his surety, Mr. Nicholes. Previously admitted at Jesus College.

[B.A. 1620, M.A. 1624, B.D. 1631; Frankland fellow, Michaelmas, 1625; Senior fellow, Midsummer, 1630-37.]

DOD, NATHANIEL, son of Nathaniel Dod, priest. Born at Bennington, Herts. School, Bishop Stortford, under Mr. Leigh, two years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, May 6, 1660. Surety, Mr. Bolt.

[No degree.] This family of Dod claim, according to the visitation pedigree given in the *Genealogist*, vol. iii., p. 243, to be descended from the Cheshire family of that name. Thomas Dod, of Boughton, near Chester, married Ellen, daughter of John Hooper, of Chester, merchant, and had five sons. Of these sons Edward, the eldest, was grandfather of Edward, admitted to Caius 1649-50, while Randel (or Ralph) Dod (the third son), minister of Wiggenhall St. Mary Magdalen, Norfolk, was father of the first Nathaniel, B.D., rector of Benington, Herts., from 1636 to his death in 1682, and grandfather of the second Nathaniel Dod, admitted 1660. *Cf.* Cussan's *Herts.*, vol. iii., p. 136, where is given the M.I. of Nathaniel I., and of his uncle Hugo, son of Thos., of Boughton.

DOMVILL, EDWARD, son of William Domvill, gent., of Lymm, Cheshire. Born there. At school there, under Mr. Richardson, nine years. Age 16. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table, March 30, 1665. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

[No degree.] Edward Domville, Esq., of Lymm, was the eldest son and heir of William Domville, of Lymm, and his wife Anne Gerard, of Riddings (granddaughter of Rev. Richard Gerard), and was baptized February 8, 1648, and was buried October 24, 1685. His wife was a sister of George Warburton, of Caius College. Ormerod, i. 582.

ELLISON, TIMOTHY, son of William Ellison, of Wavertree, Lancashire. School, Toxteth Park, under Mr. Ursely, eight years. Age 16. Admitted scholar, June 21, 1670. Surety, Mr. Thorpe.

[No degree.]

FAIRCLOUGH, JAMES, son of Thomas Fairclough, gent., of Upholland, Lancashire. Admitted fellow-commoner [1655], having previously resided for more than four years at St. John's College, and having taken his B.A. degree there. Surety, Mr. Fairclough.

[M.A. 1658, M.L. 1658. Perse fell. M^{r} 1655—L.D. 165$\frac{8}{9}$. His fellowship pronounced void on account of his continued absence, 1659, April 16. IV. Gesta, July 7.] Professor Mayor gives his admission to St. John's College, as follows: "165$\frac{4}{5}$ James Faireclough, son of Thomas Faireclough, 'plebei'; born at Holland, Lancashire; school, Winnick (-wick), Lancashire; admitted pensioner, tutor and surety Mr. Frost, 6 Febr. æt. 21 (admitted fellow-commoner 8 Sept. 1654)." The signature, Ja. Faireclough, is attached to a testimonial with regard to certain cures effected by Valentine Greatraks, the stroker, in 1666. *N. and Q.*, 6th ser., ix. 62.

FAIRCLOUGH, JOHN, son of Samuel Fairclough, minister of Kedington, Suffolk. Born there. Schools, Bury St. Edmund's, under Mr. Leigh, one year; and Dedham, Essex, under Mr. Oddy, two years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, May 5, 1651. Tutor and surety, Mr. Faireclough.

Samuel Fairclough, or Fairclothe, as he is called on one of his sermons, was descended from a Lancashire family, and with one of his sons was amongst the ejected in 1662. John Fairclough [B.A. 1654, M.A. 1658, M.D. 1661 (lit. reg.), Frankland fellow, Michaelmas, 1655, to Michaelmas, 1659] was a physician in London, living in the parish of St. Giles in the Fields. Smith's *Obituary*, p. 75.

GERARD FELIX, of Harrow on the hill; son of William Gerard, gent. Schools, Harrow and Eton, three years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, litt. grat. March 10, 157$\frac{7}{8}$. Surety, his brother, Mr. Richard Gerrard, fellow.

[He took no degree], and is described in Piccope MSS. i. p. 28, as "of Harrow."

GERRARDE, PHILLIP, son of William Gerrarde, gent. Born at Harrow, Middlesex. School, Harrow. Age 18. Admitted scholar, Feb. 9. 158$\frac{4}{5}$. Surety, Mr. Richard Gerrard, M.A. fellow.

[No degree.] Philip, eighth son of Wm. G., was of Gray's Inn, and

married Frances, daughter of — Page, of Wembley, co. Middlesex, and had eight sons. Piccope MSS. i. 28.

GERRARDE, RICHARD, of Harrow, Middlesex, son of William Gerard, gent. School, Harrow, four years. Age 15. Admitted scholar, litt. grat., Nov. 4, 1567. Tutor, Mr. Trott, fellow of the college. Surety, the Master. Assigned a cubicle with Dr. Hammond.

GERRARDE, RICHARD, B.A., son of William Gerrard, gent. Already admitted pensioner in 1567; since at Trinity College: again entered pensioner here, litt. grat., March 29, 1574. Surety, the Master, Mr. Thomas Legge.

[B.A. (Trin.) 1571, M.A. (Cai.) 1575, B.D. 1582. Tutor from Feb., 1574-5.] Incorp. M.A. Oxon, 15 July, 1578. Richard Gerard, son of William, and nephew of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls, was collated prebendary of Southwell in 1580. Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth. Rector of Stockport, 1577 to 1614. He married at Stockport, Ursula, daughter of Ralph Arderne, of Harden, Esq. Richard Gerard died in May, 1614, in his 61st year, and was buried at Stockport, 17 May, 1614. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married Oswald Mosley, of Garrett Hall, Esq. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, vol. i. 383.

GERRARDE, THOMAS, of London, son of William Gerarde, Esq. Educated at home at Harrow on the hill, under Mr. Morse. Age 16. Admitted scholar Sep. 24, 1603. Tutor and surety, Mr. Wylde.

Thomas Gerard, of Burnwell, co. Kent [B.A. 1606], was the fourth son of W. G., of Harrow, and married Alice, d. and coh. of Edward . . . of Stepney. Piccope MSS. i. 28.

GERRARDE, THOMAS GERRARDE, of Harrow on the Hill, son of Gilbert Gerrarde, knt., Attorney General. Educated at home, under Mr. Thomas Tayler, M.A., four years. Age 16. Admitted fellow-commoner, Feb. 1, 15$\frac{11}{12}$, litt. grat. Surety, Mr. Richard Swale, president. [No degree.]

Sir Thomas Gerard, eldest son of Sir Gilbert Gerard, was M.P. for Lancaster, 1585-89; Lancashire, 1589-99; and Staffordshire, 1601-3, and was advanced to the peerage 21 July, 1603, as Baron Gerard, of Gerard's Bromley, co. Stafford. He was Lord President of Wales, 1616-17, and died in 1617. Lord Gerard inherited Garrett Hall, Manchester, from his father, but sold it to Oswald Mosley. *Lanc. and Ches. Hist. and Gen. Notes*, i. 377, *Manchester Court Leet Records*, and Burke's *Extinct Peerage*.

GILPINE, BERNARD, of Lancaster, son of Randall Gilpine, mediocris fortunæ. Age 16. School, Lancaster, five years. Admitted litt. causa, Feb. 7, 156$\frac{8}{9}$. Tutor and surety, Mr. Dorington, fellow. Assigned the first lower cubicle.

[No degree. Nephew of the famous Bernard Gilpin, "Apostle of the North." Said to have had a daughter, who died young.]

HART, JAMES, son of Robert Hart, gent., of Westleigh ("Wastleigh"), Lancashire. School, Ringley, under Mr. Taylor, three years. Age 17. Admitted sizar, June 10, 1669. Surety, Mr. Thorpe.

B.A. 1672. Heart. A.M. 1676.

HEWITT, RICHARD, son of Richard Hewitt, gent., of Eccles, Lancashire. Born there. At school there for three years, under Mr. Alston; and for four years under Mr. Atkinson. Age 19. Admitted sizar, June 21, 1675. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

B.A. 1678, M.A. 1682. He was probably a nephew of Dr. John Hewitt, who was beheaded in 1658, but his baptism is not recorded in the registers at Eccles church. (E. Kirk, in *Local Gleanings*, 1877.)

Ric. Hewyt, cl., rector of Grinstead-juxta-Ongar, 4 Oct., 1700. (*Newcourt*, ii. 289.) Ric. Hewit, A.M., curate of Norton-Mandeville, was incumbent in 1700. (*Newcourt*, ii. 440.) Ric. Hewytt, cl., curate of Roding-Berners, incumbent in 1700. (*Newcourt*, ii. 503.)

HOLT, ELLIS ("Elizaeus"), of Lancaster, son of Edmund Holt. At school, under Mr. Walden. Age 18. Admitted, July 2, 1613, sizar of Mr. Wetherall.

[B.A. 1616, M.A. 1620, graduated at Corpus Christi.] Elisha Holt appears in Mayor's *St. John's Admissions*, p. 46, as master of a private school at Ipswich.

JANION, JOHN, son of Thomas Janion, gent., of Preston on Hill, Cheshire. School, Halton, under Mr. Percevall, four years. Age 18. Admitted sizar, May 25, 1633. Surety, Mr. Manwaring.

[No degree. Died in College: bur: (St. Mich:) 2 Nov: 1636. *plague.*]

KENNYON, WALTER, of Winwick, Lancashire, son of Ralph Kennyon, mediocris fortunæ. Age 16. School, Winwick, seven years. Admitted Mar. 24, 1568. Assigned a cubicle with Mr. Dorington, M.A., his tutor and surety.

KENION, WALTER, admitted pensioner in 1562, afterwards rector of Bury, Lancashire. Admitted fellow-commoner, Dec. 5, 1568. Surety, Mr. Staller, fellow. Assigned a lower cubicle.

Walter Kenyon [B.A. 1565] was instituted to the Rectory of Bury, on the presentation of the Earl of Derby, 18 August, 1568. His successor was instituted in 1599. Raines MSS., vol. 18, p. 19.

KIRKBIE, RICHARD, of Kirkby, Lancashire, son of Roger Kirkbie, Esq. Schools, St. Bees, and Giggleswick, six years. Age 16. Admitted fellow-commoner, litt. grat., Nov. 5, 1573. Assigned a cubicle with his surety, Mr. Robert Churche, M.A. fellow.

[No degree.] Richard Kirkby, son of Roger Kirkby, married Brigit ——. The family entered its pedigree at the Visitation of 1613, when Roger Kirkby was living, aged ninety-five, but his son Richard was apparently dead. *Visitation*, 1613, Chet. Soc., p. 92.

LANCASTER, CHRISTOPHER, son of Christopher Lancaster, clerk, of Burnsall, Yorkshire. Born at Bowland ? ("Bolland"), Lancashire. School, Burnsall, under Mr. Clarke, five years. Age 13. Admitted sizar. Surety, Mr. Adamson. [Admitted 1657.]

He migrated to Trinity College, and graduated B.A. 1661.

LATHAM, JOHN, son of John Latham, goldsmith, of London. Born there.

School, Winwick, Lancashire, under Mr. Gresh[illegible]ve, and under Mr. Jones, one year. Age 15. Admitted sizar, Feb. 10, 1663. Surety, Mr. Ellis.

B.A. 1672, M.A. 1676. "Capellanus" Chaplain, October 7, M[r] 1676-M[r] 1677. A person of the name was vicar of Bellingham, Norfolk, but no date of institution is given. Blomefield, x. 104.

LEA, RICHARD, son of William Lea, merchant, of Nantwich, Cheshire. Born there. At school there, under Mr. Sherton, six years. Age 17. Admitted sizar, *Nov.* 2, 1629. Surety, Mr. Eade.

[Mentioned in the college register as a B.A. in 1633.]

LEIGHE, PETER, of Presbury, Cheshire, son of Peter Leighe, Esq. Schools, Winwick ("Wenwick"), Lancashire, under Mr. Alexander Arrowsmythe, one year, and Macclesfield ("Maxfeild"), under Mr. John Brownsworthe, one year. Age 17. Admitted fellow-commoner, litt. grat., Feb. 1, 15[illegible]. Tutor, Mr. Swale, president.

[No degree.] Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, was born in 1563, succeeded his father in 1590, was M.P. for Wigan 1586 and 1589, and knight of the shire for Cheshire in 1597. In 1598 he was knighted. He was also sheriff of Cheshire. He benefited his first school by building a school-house and increasing the endowment. He died in 1636. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir Gilbert Gerard, Master of the Rolls, and sister to Thomas, Lord Gerard, Legh's fellow-student at Caius. Beamont's *House of Lyme*, pp. 107 to 137, has a laudatory notice of Sir Peter Legh.

LOMMAX, NATHANIEL, son of Thomas Lommax, gent., deceased of Heaton ("Hetton"), Lancashire. Born there. School, Eccles, under Mr. Atkinson, two years; and Chowbent ("You-bent"), under Mr. Taylor, three months. Age 18. Admitted sizar, March 12, 167[illegible]. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

[No degree.]

LOUDE, RALPH, of Aighton, Lancashire, son of Edmund Loude, husbandman. School, Whalley, under Mr. Browne, four years. Age 18. Admitted, Oct. 13, 1608, sizar of his surety, the Master, William Branthwaite, D.D. Previously admitted at Emmanuel College, May 4, 1606, under Mr. Walbanks, tutor.

[At Emmanuel, two years, 15 May, 1606. B.A. 1609, M.A. 1613, B.D. 1622. Frankland fellow, L D 161[illegible]. Senior fellow, Midsummer, 1621—Michaelmas, 1622.] Incorp. M.A. Oxon, 14 July, 1618.

LOWDE, ROBERT, of Aighton, Lancashire, son of Edmund Lowde, gent. Schools, Clitheroe and Bolton Percy, Yorkshire, under Messrs. Emott and Lowd, six years. Age 15. Admitted, litt. grat., Oct. 24, 1618, sizar of Mr. Ralph Lowde, fellow.

[B.A. 1622, M.A. 1626.]

LOWD, ROBERT, son of Robert Lowd, rector of Wighton ("Withton"), Norfolk. Born at Rither ("Rider"), Yorkshire. School, Ulleskelf (Uskill), under Mr. Robinson, three years; also under his father, three years. Age 16. Admitted sizar, April 18, 1650. Surety, Mr. Barker.

[B.A. 1653, M.A. 1657.]

LOWDE, ROGER, of Huyton ("Highton"), Lancashire, son of Edmund Lowde. At school under Mr. Pottowe. Age 18. Admitted, Sep. 27, 1613. Previously admitted at Christ's College.

[B.A. 1616, M.A. 1620.] The family of Lowde entered a pedigree of five generations at the Visitation of Lancashire, 1664. Edmund Lowde, of Ridding, gent., married Elizabeth, daughter of Giles Parker, of Newby, and had four sons, James, Ralph, Roger, and Robert. Ralph Lowde, the second son, became a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, and rector of Blakenye, Norfolk. Roger Lowde, the third son, also a clergyman, was of Rither, co. York; he made his will 26 August, 1652, administration being granted to his widow Elizabeth, 1654. Robert Lowde, the youngest son, became rector of Wiveton, Norfolk, about 1640. His monument is in Wiveton Church, with the following inscription:—

"Hic quoq. Sepulta jacent Corpora Roberti Lowde Presbeteri eccliæ Anglicanæ ac nuper Rectoris Hujus Annæq. uxoris ejus qui quidem Rob^{t} abdormiebat xxi Die Januarii dicta Annæ quarto Die Septemb^{s} Proxime Elapsi A.D. 1671."—W. N. Dew's *M.I. in Hundred of Holt*, p. 150.

LOWE, JOHN, of Haughton, Lancashire, son of John Lowe, mediocris fortunae. School, Stockport ("Stopwith"), four years, under Mr. Bamford. Admitted sizar, September 17, 1583. Surety, Mr. Paman.

[No degree.]

LOWE, THOMAS, son of John Lowe, deceased, of Hulme ("Holme"), Winwick, Lancashire. Born at Ashton. School, Winwick, under Mr. Goss, five years; Mr. Jones, one year; and Mr. Atkinson, three months. Age 19. Admitted sizar, March 20, 166$\frac{8}{9}$. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

B.A. 1672, M.A. 1678. I have not been able to identify Thomas Lowe, unless he is the "Mr. Thomas Low, a minister," aged about 30, and said to be a Cheshire man who committed suicide 29 or 30 March, 1684. *Cheshire Sheaf*, iii. 238.

MARBURY, JAMES, son of James Marbury, rector of Davenham, Cheshire. School, Northwich, five years, under Messrs. Cotton and Swinton. Age 17. Admitted scholar [1665]. Tutor, Mr. Ellys.

James Marbury, senior, of Brasenose College, Oxford, was instituted to the rectory of Davenham, 1662, and died November 20, 1678. James Marbury, junior (the above scholar), [B.A. Camb. 1668, M.A. 1672], was presented to the rectory of Davenham, 1681, and died June, 1725. Ormerod, ii. 144.

MARBERRY, RICHARD, son of Thomas Marberry, Esq., of Walton, Cheshire. Born there. Schools, Daresbury, under Mr. Hammar, three years; and Winwick, Lancashire, under Mr. Pickering, six years. Age 18. Admitted scholar, 1648. Surety, the chaplain ("sacellanus"), Mr. Bradshaw. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table, October 19, 1648. Surety, Mr. Bradshaw.

[No degree.] The father appears to be the Thomas Marbury, of Walton, who sold his estates. Ormerod, i. 738, does not bring the pedigree later than this Thomas, who married Elizabeth, daughter of William Newhall.

MARLAND, ROBERT, of Rochdale ("Ratsdale"), Lancashire, son of James Marland, yeoman. School, Rochdale, under Mr. Holt. Age 21. Admitted at St. John's College, under Mr. Brathaite, tutor, April 7, 1600; and in this college, as pensioner to the bachelors' table, under Mr. Anthony Duisborough, Feb. 15, 160$\frac{2}{3}$.

[B.A. 1603, M.A. 1609. At St. John's four years.] The Rev. Robert Marland, third son of James Marland, of Marland, gent., and his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, gent., was for a short time head master of Rochdale Grammar School, succeeding Mr. Holt in 1605, and resigning in 1610. Raines' *Memorials of Rochdale Grammar School*, p. 29. On the 24 February, 1610-11, a child of "Robt. Marland, clerk," was buried at Rochdale. Fishwick's *Rochdale Parish Registers*, p. 299.

MATHER, THOMAS, son of John Mather, gent., of Newton, Lancashire. Born there. School, Winwick, under Mr. Pickering, ten years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, May 25, 1640. Surety, Mr. Moore.

He took the Protestation of 1641-2 and graduated [B.A. 1643].

NICHOLSON, WILLIAM, son of William Nicholson. Born at Stockport ("Stopworth, seu Stopford"), Cheshire. At school there, under Mr. Bandforde. Age 20. Admitted sizar, June 3, 1581, having entered the college in 1580. Surety, Mr. Richard Gerrard, M.A., fellow.

[Graduated at Jesus College, B.A. 1584, M.A. 1588.] William Nicholson, possibly the above, was master of Stockport Grammar School, and was buried 5 Sep., 1597. Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, i. 417.

ODDY, THOMAS, of Lancashire, son of Thomas Oddy. Age 16. Admitted, June 24, 1619, sizar of Mr. Lowd.

[B.A. 1622] and probably the Mr. Oddy, schoolmaster at Dedham (Queen Elizabeth's Free Grammar School), who educated John Fairclough above named.

PATRICKE, RICHARD, of Bispham, Lancashire, son of Thomas Patricke, gent. Educated under Mr. Harison. Age 16. Admitted sizar, Nov. 6, 1589. Surety, Mr. Stockedale.

[No degree.]

PICKERING, NATHANIEL, son of Richard Pickering, master of Winwick School, Lancashire, lately deceased. Born at Middleton. At school, under his father. Age 17. Admitted scholar, May 25, 1640. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[No degree.]

PICKERING, ROBERT, son of Robert Pickering, Esq., of Thelwall, Cheshire. Born in London. Schools, St. Paul's, under Mr. Davenport, half a year; and Chester, under Mr. Liptrot, five years. Age 19. Admitted scholar, March 25, 1665. Tutor, Mr. Ellys. Entered first at St. John's College. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table, 1667. Surety, Mr. John Ellys.

"Robert Pickering, 'de qua parochia nescit,' co. Middlesex, son of Robert Pickering, 'iurisperiti;' bred at Chester (Mr. Liptrot) for 7 years: admitted pensioner, tutor and surety Mr. Peck, 15 June, 1664; æt. 18." Mayor's *Admissions to St. John's*, part i., p. 165. The Rev. Robert

Pickering, B.A. 1667, M.A. 1671, was the younger son of a barrister who purchased Thelwall in 1661. He was rector of Eccleston, 1671-1703, and of Croston, 1689-1703, both in Lancashire. He died s.p. in 1703. Ormerod, i. 749. He was cousin to Robert Chesshyre before mentioned.

POTTER, THOMAS, son of John Potter, gent. Born at Ashton, Lancashire. At school there, under Mr. Birch, five years; and at Winwick, under Mr. Pickering, eight years. Age 19. Admitted scholar May 7, 1646. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[B.A. 1649, M.A. 1653.] Thomas Potter occurs as rector of Hanhow, Norfolk, in 1651. Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. x., p. 385.

PRESTON, JOHN, son of Thomas Preston, Esq. Born at Dalton, Lancashire. School, Skelsmergh ("Skellsmoor"), Westmoreland, under Mr. Garnett, four years. Age 14. Admitted fellow-commoner, litt. grat., Nov. 4, 1587. Surety, Dr. Legge, master of the college and vice-chancellor.

John Preston [who took no degree] was of Preston Patricke and the Mannour, Furness. His will is dated 1642, and he died shortly afterwards, leaving an only surviving son, who was for his loyalty to Charles I. created a baronet. Burke's *Extinct Baronetage*.

REVE, HENRY, son of Robert Reve, gent., of Suffolk. Born at Leighton ("Laiton"), Cheshire. Schools, Bury St. Edmunds, under Mr. Dickenson, two years; and Eye, under Mr. Dormer. Age 17. Admitted fellow-commoner, lit. grat., Oct. 18, 1626. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[No degree. Admitted, Gray's Inn, June 1, 1629.]

RISHTON, JOHN, son of Nicholas Rishton, gent., of Oswaldtwisle, Lancashire. Born there. Schools, Blackburn, under Mr. Sager, three years; and Accrington (private), under Mr. Kennion, two years. Age 16. Admitted scholar May 2, 1659. Tutor, Mr. Henry Jenkes, fellow.

[The Caius College register styles him B.A. in 1676.], M.A. Lit. Reg. 1677. He was instituted vicar of Leyland 25 July, 1677, and died 1683. Baines, ii. 136. According to Abram, however, the vicar was a son of *William* Rishton, gent. *Hist. Blackburn*, p. 642.

SMITH, RALPH, son of George Smith, gent., of Middlesex. Born at Brize-Norton, Oxon. School, Chester, under Mr. Williamson, three years. Age 19. Admitted pensioner to the bachelors' table, Sep. 25, 1627. Surety, Mr. Moore. Admitted fellow-commoner, June 13, 1629. Surety, Mr. Moore.

SNELL, GEORGE, son of William Snell, gent. Born at Fremington, Devon. School, Chulmleigh ("Chymley"), Devon, under Mr. Henry Hatswell. Age 18. Admitted scholar, Jan. 31, 1599-1600. Surety, Mr. Hearle, fellow.

[Graduated at St. John's, B.A. 1603, M.A. 1607.] There seems to be little reason for doubting that this scholar is identical with the George Snell, D.D., who became archdeacon of Chester, 16 Jan., 1618-19. Archdeacon Snell, who married about 1617 a sister of Bishop Bridgeman, a Devonshire man, was rector of Smeaton, of a moiety of Wallasey, and of Waverton, and prebendary of Chester Cathedral. He was a loyalist, and is

mentioned as a sufferer by Walker. Snell died in obscurity at Gilden Sutton, 5 February, 1655, and there is a monument to him in St. Mary's Church, Chester. Helsby's Ormerod, i. 115; Gastrell's *Notitia*, i. 28. Geo. Snell, M.A. Camb., was incorp. M.A. Oxon, 14 July, 1611. Clark's *Reg. Ox.*, vol. ii. part 1. George Snell, D.D., of the University of St. Andrew, Scotland, was incorporated D.D. of Oxford 16 July, 1621. The date of the St. Andrew's degree is unknown. Mr. J. M. Anderson, University librarian, has kindly examined the graduation lists of St. Andrew's, and informs me that he is unable to find any one of that name amongst the graduates from 1562 to 1625.

SOROCOLD, JAMES and GEORGE, sons of George Sorocold, gent. Born at Ashton, Lancashire. School, Winwick, under Mr. Pickering, about six years. Ages 18 and 17. Admitted scholars, May 9, 1645. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[No degrees.] The father, George Sorocold, of Ashton, married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Edward Birchall, of Ashton in Makerfield. In the *Visitation* of 1664, James, the elder son, only is named.

SOWRBUTTS, WILLIAM, of Lancaster, son of Richard Sowrbutts. School, Blackburn, under Mr. Collinson. Age 19. Admitted sizar, litt. grat., June 16, 1620. Surety, Mr. Loude.

[B.A. 1623, M.A. 1627.] William "Sowerbetts" was vicar of Burston, co. Norfolk, 1643-1662. Blomefield, *Norfolk*, ix. 376. The latter date points to him being a Nonconformist, but Calamy makes no mention of him.

STEELE, WILLIAM, son of Richard Steele, of Cheshire. Born at Sandbach. School, Chester, under Mr. Williamson, three years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, Sep. 25. 1627. Surety, Mr. Moore.

[No degree.] William Steele, son of Richard Steele, of Giddy Hall, Sandbach, became a barrister at Gray's Inn on June 23, 1637, and was Attorney-general for the parliament, when the king was condemned, but when the trial day came Mr. Attorney Steele was absent on the plea of illness. In 1649, he was elected Recorder of London, and, about 1654, serjeant at law. In 1655, he became Chief Baron, and resigned the recordership. He was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Aug. 26, 1656, and the following year was nominated one of Cromwell's House of Lords. He lost his place at the Restoration, but is said to have secured his personal safety by betraying the secrets of Henry Cromwell to the Royalists. He died in Dublin and is said to have been grandfather of Sir Richard Steele. (Foss's *Judges*, p. 631.)

TAYLOUR, HENRY, son of Walter Taylour, of Ashton, Lancashire. School, Winwick, under Mr. Gorse, six years. Age 18. Admitted sizar, June 24, 1653. Surety, Mr. Naylour.

[B.A. 1656, M.A. 1660.]

TAYLOUR, JEREMIAH, son of John Taylour, gent., of Golborne, Lancashire. Born there. School, Winwick, under Mr. Gorse, seven years. Age 19. Admitted sizar, March 30, 1665. Surety, Mr. Ellys.

B.A. 1668, M.A. 1672.

THORNELY, THOMAS, son of Thomas Thornely, mediocris fortunæ. Born at Denton, Lancashire. School, Stockport ("Stopforth"), Cheshire, under Mr. Bamforde. Admitted scholar, June 19, 1585, having resided two and a half years in the college as sizar of Mr. Catelyn. Tutor and surety, Mr. T. Howse, M.A., fellow.

[B.A. 1586, M.A. 1590.]

TURNER, WILLIAM, son of Thomas Turner, gent., of Winwick, Lancashire. Born there. School, Ringley, under Mr. Taylor. Age 19. Admitted sizar, June 9, 1669. Surety, Mr. Thorpe.

[No degree.]

WARBURTON, GEORGE, son of George Warburton, bart., of Cheshire. Age 16. Admitted scholar, June 21, 1666. Tutor, Mr. Ellys.

[No degree.] George Warburton, second son of the first baronet of Arley, is described in Ormerod, i. 574, as "George Warburton of the Gore," and is there stated to have left issue, George, Thomas, and Elizabeth.

WATERHOUSE, SIMON, son of Robert Waterhouse, tailor ("pannitonsor"), of Clifton in Wotton, Staffs. At school, under Mr. Pickering, of Winwick, Lancashire. Age 17. Admitted sizar, Nov. 11, 1622. Surety, Mr. Wake, fellow.

[B.A. 1626, M.A. 1632.]

WORSELEY, CHARLES, son of Edward Worseley, rector of Letheringsett, Norfolk. Born at Runcton, near Sherringham. School, Holt, under Messrs. Mazey and Bainbridge, seven years. Age 17. Admitted scholar, Jan. 28, 167$\frac{4}{5}$. Tutor, Mr. Ellys.

Charles Worsley, who was a nephew of Charles Worsley, M.P. for Manchester, one of Cromwell's Major Generals, graduated B.A. 1674. He was rector of Salthouse, Norfolk, and died 24 Dec., 1682, aged 29. He is buried with his wife, Beatrice Claxton, in Letheringsett Church, where there is a memorial stone to their memory. Charles Worsley's will, in which he is described as "of Holt Market, clerk," is printed in Booker's *Birch Chapelry*, p. 54.

APPENDIX II.

List of Caius men, arranged under the names of the schools where they were educated, with date of admission to college, and the names of their schoolmasters.

LANCASHIRE.

ASHTON IN MAKERFIELD.

Thomas Potter ... ... 1646 ... Mr. Birch.

BLACKBURN.

James Dilworth	1620 ...	Mr. Collinson.
William Sowrbutts...	1620 ...	Mr. Collinson.
Thomas Dilworth	1629 ...	Mr. Halsteade.
Theophilus Amyas	1658 ...	Mr. Sagar.
John Rishton	1659 ...	Mr. Sager.

The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth, at Blackburn, was founded in 1567. Thurstan Collinson was master from September 29, 1612, and ceased before 1623. His will was proved 1630. Richard Halstead, M.A., was appointed January 8, 1624-5, and ceased 1640. Charles Sagar was appointed master January 21, 1655-6, and resigned in 1666. He became a Presbyterian minister, and after quitting the grammar school taught a private school. *Cf.* Abram's *History of Blackburn*, and *Wills at Chester, 1621-50*, ed. by Earwaker.

BURTONWOOD, NEAR WARRINGTON.

Leigh Bretherton	1650 ...	Mr. Jackson.

BURY.

Samuel and Edward Byrom ...	1650 ...	Mr. Bradshaw.

About 1625 Henry Bury, of Bury, clerk, founded a free school at Bury, and it was probably of this school that Mr. Bradshaw was master. There was at the same time a private school at Bury at which Mr. Levesey taught. *Cf.* Christie's *Old Lancashire Libraries*, p. 139, and Mayor's *St. John's Admissions*, p. 93.

CHOWBENT.

Nathaniel Lommax	167½ ...	Mr. Taylor.

CLITHEROE.

Robert Lowde	1618 ...	Mr. Emott.

The Free Grammar School of Mary, Queen of England, at Clitheroe, was founded in 1 and 2 Philip and Mary. Baines, ii. 11.

ECCLES.

Nathaniel Lommax	167½ ...	Mr. Atkinson.
Richard Hewitt	1675 ...	Mr. Alston and Mr. Atkinson.

LANCASTER.

Bernard Gilpin	156$\frac{2}{4}$

Lancaster Free Grammar School was founded before 1495. Baines, ii. 572.

LEIGH.

Robert Brabbin	1671 ...	Mr. Taylor.

There is no complete list of the Leigh schoolmasters, and Mr. Taylor is not one of those named by Mr. J. E. Bailey in his lecture on Leigh Grammar School.

LITHERLAND, IN SEPHTON PARISH.

William Dean	1577

MIDDLETON.

John Ashton	1660 ...	Mr. Evans.

RINGLEY.

William Brabbin	166⅝ ...	Mr. Taylor.
William Turner	1669 ...	Mr. Taylor.
James Hart	1669 ...	Mr. Taylor.
Robert Brabbin	1671 ...	Mr. Taylor.

Mr. Taylor appears to have removed to Leigh school.

ROCHDALE.

Robert Marland	160¾ ...	Mr. Holt.

The will of Mr. Richard Holte, "late Schoolmaster of the Grammar School of Rochdale," was proved at Chester, December 17th, 1605. He had a large collection of learned Theological Books "in his Liberarie," some of which he enumerates. Raines's *Rochdale Grammar School*, p. 29.

STOCKPORT.

William Nicholson	1580 ...	Mr. Bandforde.
Thomas Thornely	1585 ...	Mr. Bamforde.
John Lowe	1583 ...	Mr. Bamford.

TOXTETH PARK.

Timothy Ellison	1670 ...	Mr. Ursely.

WHALLEY.

Ralph Loude	1606 ...	Mr. Browne.

WINWICK.

Walter Kenyon	156⅜	
Peter Leighe	15⅛ ...	Mr. Alexander Arrowsmythe.
Simon Waterhouse	1622 ...	Mr. Pickering.
Thomas Bradshaw	16⅜ ...	Mr. Pyckerin.
Nathaniel Pickering	1640 ...	Richard Pickering.
Thomas Mather	1640 ...	Mr. Pickering.
James and George Sorocold ...	1645 ...	Mr. Pickering.
Adam Byrom	1646 ...	Mr. Pickeringe.
Thomas Potter	1646 ...	Mr. Pickering.
Leigh Bretherton	1650 ...	Mr. Gorse.
Sam. and Edw. Byrom	1650 ...	Mr. Gorse.
Henry Taylour	1653 ...	Mr. Gorse.
James Fairclough	1655	
Jeremiah Taylour	1665 ...	Mr. Gorse.
James Clough	1667 ...	Mr. Goaret.
Thomas Lowe	166⅜ ...	Mr. Goss, Mr. Jones, and Mr. Atkinson.
John Latham	166⅜ ...	Mr. Gorss and Mr. Jones.

Winwick Grammar School, one of the most celebrated schools in Lancashire, has found an historian in Mr. William Beamont. The Caius register does not give the name of Walter Kenyon's master, but he would probably be Henry Johnson. Alexander Arrowsmithe was unknown to Mr. Beamont. Mr. Richard Pickering succeeded the eminent Richard Mather in 1612, and died

about 1640. James Pickering, master in 1629, mentioned by Mr. Beamont, may be an error, as Richard is described as lately deceased in 1640, and in the same year the will of Richard Pickering, of Winwick, schoolmaster, was proved. Ralph Gorse, A.B., was appointed 1644, and resigned on being elected head master of Macclesfield Grammar School in 1667. He died 1674. Goaret and Goss are probably other forms of Mr. Gorse's name. Jones's Christian name is unknown, and Mr. Atkinson, like Arrowsmith, has escaped Mr. Beamont.

CHESHIRE.

CHESTER.

Ralph Smith	1627 ...	Mr. Williamson.
William Steele	1627 ...	Mr. Williamson.
Robert Pickering	1665 ...	Mr. Liptrot.
Robert Cheshire	1670 ...	Mr. Liptrough.

DARESBURY, RUNCORN PARISH.

Richard Marberry	1648 ...	Mr. Hammar.

The school at Daresbury was founded by Richard Rider, of Preston, co. Chester, in 1600. The master was to be a graduate at one of the two Universities, and was "to teach grammar, school-poetry, and other learning." *Charity Commissioners' Report*, xxxi. 747.

HALTON.

John Janion	1633 ...	Mr. Percevall.
Robert Cheshire	1670 ...	Mr. Fleetcroft.

The will of Gervyse Percival, master of the Hargreave Grammar School, was proved at Chester, 1643. *Wills at Chester, 1621-50*, p. 172.

LYMM.

Edward Domvill	1665 ...	Mr. Richardson.
Richard Comberbatch	1665 ...	Mr. Richardson.
William Brabbin	166$\frac{8}{9}$ ...	Mr. Flitgraft.

MACCLESFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

Peter Legh	15$\frac{7}{8}$ ...	John Brownsworthe.

John Brownswerd was elected head master, January 30, 1560-1, and was in office till his resignation in 1588. *Cheshire Notes and Queries*, 1887, p. 176.

NANTWICH.

Richard Lea	1629 ...	Mr. Shenton.

Mr. William Shenton was assistant to Mr. Randle Kent, who died 1624, and whom he succeeded as head master. William Webb describes him as "a learned assistant, a Master of Arts of Queen's Colledge in Oxon, whose name is Mr. Shenton, of laudable pains and industry." He matriculated at Oxford from Queen's College, 24 April, 1618, as a Cheshire man, son of a plebeian, and age 16. Cf. *Cheshire Sheaf*, vol. i., p. 93; Hall's *Nantwich*, p. 374; and Clark's *Register of Oxford University*, vol. ii., part ii., p. 367.

NORTHWICH.

James Marbury ... ... 1665 ... Messrs. Cotton and Swinton.

WESTON, NEAR RUNCORN.

Robert Cheshire ... ... 1670 ... Mr. Liptrough.

Mr. William Liptrott, who had previously been schoolmaster at Chester, appears to have settled at Weston about 1669, bringing Robert Cheshire with him from Chester. Liptrott, who had been a schoolmaster for forty-six years, died 18 May, 1688, aged 68 years, and was buried at Weston. Nickson's *History of Runcorn*, p. 229, gives his monumental inscription.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

Theophilus Amyas ... ... 1658 ... Mr. Hindley, Cowhill, Rishton.

John Rishton ... ... 1659 ... Mr. Kennion, Accrington.

SCHOOLMASTERS NAMED WITHOUT THEIR SCHOOLS.

Richard Patricke ... ... 1589 ... Mr. Harison.

Roger Lowde ... ... 1613 ... Mr. Pottowe.

James Chrychlow ... ... 1613 ... Mr. Bryars.

Ellis Holt ... ... 1613 ... Mr. Walden.

William Armestead ... ... 1616 ... Mr. Pottowe.

A NEW THEORY OF "STONE CIRCLES."

BY HENRY COLLEY MARCH, M.D.

IT helps us to the solution of any difficult problem to have before us a number of competitive theories or explanations. The fittest will probably survive.

On the 9th of December, 1885, Mr. Arthur Evans read to this Society an interesting paper on "Megalithic Monuments in their Sepulchral Relation." He said,* "the stone circle that originally performed a structural function, in early dwellings and in certain barrows, by propping up the superincumbent mass of earth, becomes itself an independent feature in sepulchral ritual. It separates itself from the mound to form a huge circle of monoliths surrounding it at an even distance; or it may fulfil a ritual purpose by itself, apart from any central mound or chamber." What this ritual purpose was, Mr. Evans did not suggest; and the whole matter of stone circles was left in as much darkness as ever for those who no longer regard them as places of judicial assembly or as temples for sacrificial worship.

It is true that a round hut, with a galleried entrance that opens to the south-east, is the prototype both of barrows and of stone circles. But in early times all enclosures were circular, whether they were dwellings or tombs, camps or

* *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, iii. 11.

forts. And the method of strengthening a wall by raising a bank of rock-fragments, of rubble, or of earth, about a row of large stones was invented in a remote past, though it is practised in Cornwall to-day. If a Cornish barn, of this kind, fell into decay, if all the smaller building material were removed, whether by human hands or by natural agencies, there would be left standing a line of megaliths.

A stone circle, then, both as to the stones that compose it and as to the ring which they complete, suggests an enclosure. And I ask this question: Are the stones, as we now see them, all that remain of an ancient structure; were the intervals between them once filled up, as I venture to think they were, by smaller stones, by a bank of earth, by wattle-work, perhaps, in some cases, and by palisading?—or, as Mr. Evans seems to believe, were they never more than rudimentary survivals of a barrow-wall, thrown off, as it were, to a distance by some ritual impulse, as a ring of meteorites may be thrown off by the revolution of a contracting nebulous mass?

Now, evidence is not wanting that a stone circle is a circular wall in ruins. Apart from the significant fact that the majority of circles present some indication of an entrance, it is the case that in quite a large proportion of those that are met with on moorland, the remains of a continuous wall, of the circular vallum that once enclosed and united the discontinuous megaliths, actually exist. It can still be traced, for example, at "the Nine Ladies," in Derbyshire, a circle with a central mound;* and at two circles in Cornwall, without a central mound, one near Kenidjak, and one near Mulfra Quoit. The same thing had been observed in Scotland by Mr. Anderson, who wrote in 1777, when many antiquities existed that have since disappeared. He gave

* Fergusson's *Stone Mon.*, p. 49.

the following account as describing what he had seen "in some hundreds of places."* "The circle is about forty-six feet in diameter. The stones that compose it are usually ten or twelve feet high. The area within is smooth and somewhat lower than the ground around it, and a smooth bank carried quite round between the stones is still a little higher than the ground about it."

Sometimes the ring-fence was made of megaliths placed in actual contiguity, though the rampart of earth that, as we may suppose, originally supported them has long since been washed away, as at the Circle of Tredinek, thirty feet in diameter, figured by Borlase in 1754.†

Zennor Circle, which is seventy-two feet in diameter, consisted, at the time of Borlase, who figured it,‡ of a close ring of stones, some larger and the rest "small stones thrown loosely together in a circular ridge; at the entrance one large stone" remained standing. He also described and figured|| an oval enclosure at Kerris, made of a continuous ridge of stones of all sizes, which contained an area of fifty-two paces by thirty-four.

Sometimes the circle is composed, to all outward appearance, of a rampart of earth only; as the Giants' Ring, near Belfast. Here, the wall, probably not less than twenty feet high, is eighty feet thick at the base, and encloses an area of ten acres, with an uncovered central dolmen and a few remaining monoliths.

But sometimes, especially in our own neighbourhood, nothing is now left but a circular bank of earth, scarcely to be distinguished from the surrounding moor. On the ordnance maps these are often called "camps," but they are too small for camps and too large for the enclosing ring of a barrow,§ while they contain no central mound whatever.

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* *Arch.* v. 246. † Pl. xiii., fig. 1. ‡ Pl. xiii., fig. 4.
|| Pl. xv., fig. 2. § *Vide* Appendix of Diameters.

But further important evidence is found in those circles, consisting at present of separate megaliths, which, whether single or multiple, are themselves enclosed by an independent vallum and fosse. Examples can be seen at Arbor Low in Derbyshire, at Abury in Wilts, at Blisland in Cornwall, where the fosse is eleven feet and the vallum ten feet wide; at Stennis in the Orkneys, where the vallum is three feet high; and at the neighbouring Ring of Brogar, where the ditch remains, but the wall, which may have been only a stockade, has disappeared.

The best-preserved works are at Abury, and they were described by Mr. Long, in 1858, as follows:* "The rampart has a circumference of four thousand four hundred and forty-two feet. It is not quite circular, having diameters of one thousand one hundred and seventy and one thousand two hundred and sixty feet. It rises thirty-four feet above the surrounding field, and descends into a fosse nine feet wide at the bottom, at a depth of thirty-three feet below the level of the interior meadow. The whole slope of the vallum on the inside is upwards of seventy feet, and about half way between the top of the mound and the bottom of the fosse is a flat ledge, twelve feet wide, supposed to have been for spectators at the public festivals." It should be noticed that this flat ledge is, by the measurements given, the original surface of the ground, and that the ditch was not made for the mere purpose of raising the rampart, because the earth was carried a distance of twelve feet from the excavation before it was piled up to make the wall. Two megalithic circles stood within the enclosure, each having a diameter of about two hundred and ninety feet.

Now, all authorities agree that a fosse being on the inside of a rampart proves that *such a work had no military intention.*

* *Wilts Mag.*, iv. 327.

But it is quite clear that if stone circles were originally enclosures, and if many of them were protected by ditch and rampart, they must have subserved some function of utility. It is further clear, as a result of innumerable researches, that a stone circle had some close relation to the dead, inasmuch as interments are often met with in its area, and are always numerous in its neighbourhood.

May we venture, then, to suppose that the stone circle was employed for the same purpose as the surface-dolmen? Mr. Arthur Evans has shown that the surface-dolmen, erected on the summit of a tumulus and exposed freely to the air, was used, in cases of dual interment, for the first resting-place of the dead, wherein the more corruptible parts of the body were disintegrated by bacterial decomposition and removed by insects and by birds of prey; and afterwards, when this had been accomplished, the bones were buried in the chamber beneath. For one barrow, there was one surface-dolmen, and both were employed, no doubt, for a single person, or at most for a single family. Could the stone circles, then, the carefully-made enclosures they were, have been used for a similar purpose in other cases, or places, or times, when surface-dolmens were not in vogue; not for a single person so much as for the families and tribes of the people generally? We should thus be able to account for the extraordinary differences in the size of the circles, as shown in an appended table, since their dimensions as well as their number would vary in accordance with the population of the district, whilst their frequent occurrence in doublets and clusters is unexplained on the supposition that they were either judgment-seats or temples.

That there must have been some kind of temporary resting-places for the dead is shown by a close examination of the contents of tumuli. First, respecting uncremated bodies, Mr. Arthur Evans has reminded us that "the galleried

chambers of the interior of the oldest barrows in England present phenomena, as regards the bones contained in them, only reconcileable with the hypothesis that they had lost their fleshly covering, and become partially detached from their ligaments previous to interment." But he does not pretend to say that on the top of each of these ossuary-barrows there was a surface-dolmen; and yet there must have been a multitude of enclosures in which all these bodies were deposited, for the completion of decay, prior to burial. Canon Greenwell describes many cases in point.* Of excavation No. 67, in which flint implements and flakes were found and some archaic food vessels, but no metal, he says: "Close to the child were some of the bones of apparently a young woman, unburnt, placed certainly with some regard to their proper order, but by no means presenting such an appearance as would imply that when the interment took place there was an entire body. The head was on its left side, but there was no lower jaw with it," and so forth. "The bones still remaining were in such a sound condition as to render it impossible to suppose that those which were wanting had perished by decay."† Of excavation 59, in which were found a flint knife and scraper, but no metal, the canon remarks, "the bones seem to have been removed and afterwards replaced, for the sacrum was close to the left scapula, and there were no vertebræ between the cervical and lumbar region,"‡ and so forth. Again, in barrow 57, in which were found horn implements and a flint scraper, but no metal, Canon Greenwell says, "the number of interments discovered was a large one, and the disturbed condition of nearly all the bodies was very remarkable. There was no reason to suppose that any disturbance had taken place in modern times; indeed, the whole barrow presented unmis-

* *British Barrows.* † *Id.*, p. 260. ‡ *Id.*, p, 226.

takeable testimony that many centuries must have elapsed since the earth was moved."*

But the evidence as regards the burnt bodies of the long-barrows is no less remarkable. Canon Greenwell says† that it was apparently the custom to place a number of bodies of women and children, as well as of men, sometimes in a complete state and other times fragmentary and the bones disjointed, on a thick layer of clay or on a pavement of flag-stones. Upon them were placed turf, then stone, then layers of wood, and finally the ordinary material of the barrow. The stones were so arranged as to constitute a kind of chimney, but the incineration was often incomplete. Speaking of excavation No. 224, in which no metal was found, he says, "in some instances a few of the bones were in juxtaposition and in their proper order, but only in one case was there anything approaching to an entire body."

Again, speaking of the uncremated primary contents of a chamber in a long-barrow in Gloucestershire, Canon Greenwell says:‡ "There can be no doubt that some of the bones had been held together by their ligaments when they were deposited in the chamber, because they were found in their proper relative juxtaposition: but in no case could it have been said that a complete body had been buried. The appearances presented seemed to indicate|| that bodies which had been previously deposited, either under or above ground, elsewhere, had been afterwards brought, when the flesh and other softer parts had become decayed, and re-interred, where they were found in the condition of more or less complete skeletons." "But," he remarks in another place,§ "mal-arranged as the bones were, many of the long bones having their proximal and distal ends occupying the reverse

* *British Barrows*, p. 220. † *Id.*, p. 495. ‡ *Id.*, p. 519.
|| *Id.*, p. 221. § *Id.*, p. 530.

of their natural allocation [being placed the wrong way about], it was still plain that they had been deliberately taken up, and as deliberately laid down again in the positions in which we found them." And he sums up the subject by saying,* "that a number of bodies must have been stored away, and then simultaneously disposed of there is no doubt as regards the long-barrows in which cremation was practised; while in some of the non-cremation barrows† the conditions shut us up to the same hypothesis."

Now Mr. Arthur Evans's surface-dolmen is a rare thing; it would not hold many bodies, and it was probably reserved, like a private chapel, for very superior persons. I suggest, then, that the enclosures we have been considering, under the name of stone circles, were secure depositories for dead bodies during the time required for the bones to be stripped of their flesh, and until a sufficient number of skeletons had accumulated to make it worth while to have a grand funeral.

Let us consider the matter in this light. The foes to be guarded against were not human but bestial. "The hound, the wolf, the fox, the bear"‡ would not only crush the softer bones, but would carry off portions of the carcass. A circular wall, especially if crowned by a fence of thorns like a zariba, would do much to protect bodies within it from such depredations. But not altogether; for, from the rarity of perfect skeletons among those found in the tumuli, it would seem that hands and jaws, and even limbs were not infrequently carried away. To prevent this mutilation of the dead, the enclosures were, in some instances, themselves protected by a stockaded rampart of earth, or further secured by an inner ditch. And though a fosse inside a vallum does not constitute a military work, assuredly it would be very

* *British Barrows*, p. 534. † *Id.*, p. 535.
‡ Ecgbert's *Pœnitentials;* Thorpe's *Anc. Laws and Instit.*, ii. 212.

good against the predatory wolf. For if the wolf scaled the wall, and crossed the ditch, and seized his prey, in the ditch he would have to leave it on his retreat, and in the ditch it might presently be found by those whose duty it would be to visit the spot.

We may suppose that when a person died, his body, stiffened probably in a contracted posture, would be placed on a sort of hurdle and carried with much ceremony to an enclosure. In many cases this would be situated on some remote moor or windy hill, where stone circles are so often found. Within the enclosure, the body would be deposited on some receptacle. This might be an actual surface-dolmen like that in "the Giants' Ring," or it might be a natural rock of convenient shape like that which occupies the centre of the Trescaw ring, or the similar rock in the Karnmenelez ring, which Mr. William Borlase, writing in 1872,* regards as "an altar of incremation!" Or the receptacle might be under some porch, like that at Kerris, of which the remains stood in the elder Borlase's time, just within the circle, "four rude pillars about eight feet high."† "At the foot of them," he says,‡ "lie some large, long stones, which I am apt to think did formerly rest upon these pillars."

In other cases the receptacle may have been a horizontal megalith, like that in the so-called Druidical temple on Fiddes Hill, already mentioned as representing some hundreds of circles in Scotland. Within the bank of earth, which is "still a foot higher than the rest of the circular area, is placed a long stone which lies on its side, forms part of the circle, and is ten or twelve feet in length. It is probable," he adds, "that *on this stage* the priest officiated at the religious ceremonies, the large stone supplying the place of an altar."

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* *Nænia Cornubiæ*, p. 136, 180. † Pl. x., fig. 4, p. 189.
‡ p. 189.

The body, loosely fastened in a case of wicker-work, may have been deposited within secondary circles, or at the base of monoliths, like those that stand about the enclosed area of Abury.

Stonehenge requires, in connection with the present theory, a special consideration. The noblest stone circle in the world, it indicates, in all probability, the latest and the highest evolution of that ritual of the dead that concerned the exposure of a body prior to its interment. The work that protected it is three hundred feet in diameter, and is remarkable for the fact that the fosse is outside the vallum. It would seem as if the later people who constructed it had acquired a military experience. Of the circle itself, the outer ring was formed of local stones, twelve and a half feet in height, that were originally *all bolted together by a continuous line of imposts*, in a way that suggests a very substantial wall. Within this there was a ring of isolated foreign stones, thirty in number, and about four feet in height. Within these, again, there stood, in the general shape of a horseshoe, five huge trilithons, twenty-two feet in height, each confronted by three foreign stones, eight feet in height. In the midst of all lay a horizontal stone, fifteen feet long and three feet wide.

Have we the courage to take our theory into this last, magnificent structure? Was the flat stone in the centre a depository for the bier when a corpse was first carried into the sacred precinct? Was the space between the shafts of a trilithon and the three foreign stones that confronted it allotted as a receptacle for the mighty dead; and were the bodies of the less illustrious deposited at the base of one or other of the foreign monoliths that stood round about?

The final interment, when the flesh of a number of bodies had been sufficiently removed, took place probably at fixed

intervals; perhaps once a year, in connection with some solar aspect. The approach of such a season was doubtless indicated by the "gnomon" that so often stands at a little distance from the hallowed enclosure. The Egyptians were buried "at the going forth of the day," for they cherished a belief that if they went with the sun, with the sun they might hereafter come back. The circle-builders may have held their grand secondary sepulture at the autumnal equinox, or at the exact winter solstice, in the hope that departing with the year, with the year they might some day return. In any case, the periodical interment of the remains of many persons must necessarily have given rise to excited family and tribal gatherings, to prolonged ceremonies, and to those imposing processional rites for which so much preparation was manifestly made in connection with all the larger stone circles.

It is likely enough that as the custom of postponing the burial of bodies declined, and they were placed in the enclosure for a shorter and a shorter time, for a formal rather than a practical purpose, the stone circle gradually lost its original defensive function, and became at last associated in only a mystical manner with the ritual of the dead. But if the theory now advocated should prove to be true, it may become possible in the future to assign a relationship between particular kinds of circles and particular modes of burial. Meanwhile it is applicable to all interments in which "duality" was practised—alike to the contracted and the extended posture, to cistic and cameral sepulture, to inurnment as well as to inhumation.

The question has been discussed on its merits and confined to this country; but two confirmatory facts must now be noticed. First, a Parsí cemetery, "the tower of silence," is a circular area, enclosed by a high wall of brick or mud, within which dead bodies are exposed until their flesh has

been removed by birds of prey. Lastly, in some of the isles of Greece, where dual interment is still practised, the primary receptacles, which are built of brick, are occupied by an endless succession of bodies, and are cleared out at stated seasons, when a grand funeral takes place, accompanied with much processional ceremony.

In conclusion, the evidence in favour of this theory of stone circles may be summed up in the following propositions:—

1. A careful examination of both cremation and non-cremation barrows, of the pre-metallic period, proves that before a final interment the bodies had been placed *somewhere else* until the flesh had more or less completely disappeared from the bones.

2. The primary depositories must have been made secure against predatory animals like the wolf and the bear.

3. These depositories would naturally have been open enclosures, with a wall, according to early custom, circular in form, and built of a bank of earth supported by an interior ring of megaliths more or less separated. When the earth was washed away a stone circle would alone be left.

4. As a further protection against predatory animals, a fosse and vallum were sometimes drawn round the enclosure.

5. The number, grouping, and site, as well as the greatly varying magnitude of these enclosures are better explained by this theory than by others.

6. The gnomon is accounted for by supposing it to indicate the approach of the season when an enclosure must be cleared and a great funeral take place.

7. Such a funeral would be celebrated by imposing ceremonies, and by those processional rites for which obvious preparation was often made.

8. Considerable confirmation is afforded by existing customs in some parts of Persia and Greece.

TABLE OF DIAMETERS IN FEET.

I.—Stone Circles Surrounded by a Vallum and Fosse.

	Vallum.	"Circle."
(*a*) *The fosse outside the vallum.*		
Stonehenge, Wilts	300	106
(*b*) *The fosse inside the vallum.*		
Abury, Wilts, not concentric	1170—1260	i. 288
		ii. 288
Blisland, Cornwall	152	148
Arbor Low, Derbyshire	167	115
Ring of Stennis, Orkney	198	104
(*c*) *A fosse only, at present.*		
Ring of Brogar, Orkney	366	340
Ring of Bûkan, Orkney	136	no monoliths
(The trench is 44ft. wide and 6ft. deep.)		

II.—The Stones of the Circle placed in Actual Contiguity.

Wendron, Cornwall	50
Trescaw, Scilly	36
Tredinek, Cornwall	30

III.—Circular Rampart of Earth or Stone.

Giants' Ring, near Belfast (contains surface-dolmen and monoliths)	580
Furness, Lancashire (contains nine radiate compartments, and an annular centre), not concentric	315—350
Kerris, Cornwall, not concentric	102—156
Kirby Moor, Furness	75
Wadsworth Moor, Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire	i. 39
	ii. 120
Rombald's Moor, Yorkshire (all examined for interments, but none found)	i. 40
	ii. 43
	iii. 80
	iv. 93
Baildon Moor, Yorkshire (cremated remains found in one)	i. 50
	ii. 50
	iii. 50

IV.—Megalithic Circles, with Remains of a Wall still Existing between the Stones.

Zennor, Cornwall	72
Fiddes Hill, Scotland	46
Nine Ladies, Derbyshire (contains a central mound)	38

V.—CIRCLES CONTAINING AN ELEVATED NATURAL ROCK IN CENTRE.

Trescaw, Scilly		36
Karnmenelez, Cornwall		35·5

VI.—DOUBLE CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF MEGALITHS.

Furness, Lancashire		$\frac{90}{30}$
Crosby Ravensworth, Westmoreland		$\frac{60}{30}$

VII.—MEGALITHIC CIRCLES.

Stanton Drew	i.	129
	ii.	96
Not concentric	iii.	345—378
Guidebest, Caithness		170
Fernacre, Cornwall		140
Hakpen Hill, Wilts		120
Winterbourne Basset, Wilts	i.	90
	ii.	90
Wet Withens, Derbyshire		90
Callernish, Lewis	i.	60
	ii.	100
Penmaenmawr		80
Tregaseale, Cornwall	i.	66
	ii.	78
Rosemoddress, Cornwall		75·8
Boskednan, Cornwall		69·4
Boscawen Un, Cornwall		68·2
Wendron, Cornwall		50
Tormor, Arran		60
Hawksworth Moor, Yorkshire		43

COMMONS INCLOSURES IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM HARRISON.

WITH a Commons Preservation Society still actively at work amongst us, and Inclosure Commissioners whose functions are not yet entirely superseded, the subject of Commons Inclosures may perhaps be thought to be one of current and not of antiquarian interest; a theme for the politician and the social economist rather than the historical student. In the following remarks, however, I confine myself to the eighteenth century, a period when the question was regarded in a rather different light to that in which it presents itself to-day. It is only in comparatively recent years that our statesmen and health reformers have become alive to the value of the commons which still remain to us as places of recreation, breathing spaces for the toiling millions of our cities, and have devoted their energies to combating the destructive schemes of railway projectors and the insidious encroachments of grasping landowners. Only of late has a stand been made by those who, as Miss Rose Kingsley puts it, "have groaned at the inclosing by nineteenth-century barbarians of some well-beloved bit of woodland."

Æsthetic reasons indeed played very little part in the controversy as to inclosures ("the great controverted point of England," as Defoe, writing in 1693, termed it), which came to the front about the beginning of the eighteenth century. To Defoe, as to most of his contemporaries, it was enough that the waste lands were, as he said of the New Forest, "undoubtedly good and capable of improvement by cultivation." And indeed it is not surprising that any Englishman of that time, sincerely desiring the welfare of his country, should view with profound dissatisfaction the uncultivated condition of so much of his native soil. Heath, moss, moor, and fen largely met the eye of every traveller. And a great part of this land, as Defoe observed and as subsequent history has proved, was "undoubtedly good and capable of improvement by cultivation." Why, then, it may be asked, had these lands been allowed to remain uncultivated? The answer is to be found in the nature of the ownership. To no one individual did any part of these great wastes belong. True, the lord of the manor was the nominal owner of the soil, but his right of ownership was subject to the rights of the freeholders of the manor, who did him suit and service, and every one of whom was entitled to send his cattle to pasture and browse at will upon the common, or to cut turf, it may be, from the moss. With no individual ownership, there was, of course, no one who would drain or manure or otherwise improve the ground, and so it remained from generation to generation undeveloped, unimproved, and often enormously overstocked with cattle. "The great heaths, downs, and moorlands, which are to be seen in so many parts of this nation," says a pamphleteer in 1723, "now only afford some poor and scanty commoning to the neighbouring inhabitants, who generally, as well as the public, receive more detriment than advantage from them; since they rather serve to introduce a habit of idleness than

contribute anything considerable to their support." Those who, in their youth, have revelled in tales of highwaymen will remember that it was the great wastes, such as Hounslow Heath and Finchley Common, which were the favourite trysting places of these jovial and polite gentry.

It was this state of things then which gave the impulse to the eighteenth-century movement for the inclosure of commons. It was recognised that land, which under this wasteful system would barely maintain a certain number of cattle, might by draining and proper cultivation be made of vastly more service to the owners and to the community at large. But to this end it was essential that every part of the land should be under the dominion of an individual owner, and no longer held in common by a number of persons. Each commoner must have a specific part, proportionate to his interest, allotted to him, and must forego all right to the use of the remainder. Then with all the incentives to enterprise which individual and exclusive ownership supplied it might be expected that proper and full cultivation would speedily follow, to the great advantage both of the owner and of the public. The movement, as in all such cases, had to encounter much opposition and overcome many prejudices. Scripture, as usual, was quoted against it. There was a superstitious belief that "he who encloses a common either seldom lives to see the hedges grow up, or at most that the estate seldom remains in the family's name many years." All sorts of evils were predicted. "If," said a pessimistic pamphleteer, "we continue to inclose, it must end in the ruin of the kingdom; I foresee with sorrow what a miserable condition we must be in when all our inland towns and villages are deserted, the markets reduced to almost nothing, handicraft trades at an end, our manufactures rejected, and our wool become of little use or worth and lie dead on our hands."

How many inclosures were carried out by private arrangement among the interested parties we have no means of knowing. But since, failing the consent of every such person, a special Act of Parliament was necessary in each case, the Statute Book contains the most instructive record of the progress of the movement. Before turning to the instances there to be found concerning Lancashire and Cheshire, let me pursue a little longer the more general aspects of the question. Ignoring for the present purpose the isolated inclosures which had been made in much earlier times, and which had no connection with the eighteenth-century movement, we find that the first Inclosure Act for the whole of England was passed in the reign of Queen Anne, A.D. 1709. Another followed four years later, making two for that reign. George I.'s reign produced sixteen, while in that of his successor there were no fewer than two hundred and twenty-six, dealing with more than three hundred and eighteen thousand acres. From this time till the end of the century every session produced its batch. Between 1760 and 1796, one thousand five hundred and thirty-two such Acts were passed, dealing with more than two million eight hundred thousand acres. These Acts usually appointed commissioners, whose duty it was to cause the common to be surveyed and valued, and then to divide it amongst the the lord of the manor and the commoners, allotting to each a part proportionate to his interest. The lord of the manor usually took a share of about one-sixteenth or one-twentieth of the whole, the commoners taking the remainder amongst them. It was also a part of the commissioners' duty to provide for the drainage and irrigation of the land, for the laying out of roads and the erection of boundary fences. The commissioners were usually paid for their services, but in some cases, and notably in the two earliest Lancashire Acts — Croston and Westhoughton — they consisted of a

numerous body—peers, gentlemen, and sometimes clergymen residing in the neighbourhood, who acted without fee.

The benefits resulting from these inclosures were so patent that they could not be denied. It has been estimated that the inclosure and separate cultivation of the common lands must have increased their productiveness at least five-fold. The increased yield produced a far more abundant supply of corn and tended to cheapen it. The increased demand for agricultural labour also tended to raise the rate of wages. The better drainage of the land produced a healthier climate, and the highwaymen and footpads who infested the heaths and waste lands were driven from their refuges. As regards Lancashire in particular, a writer in 1794 said: "The lands formerly in common fields, but now divided, have doubled, in many instances trebled, their rent immediately to the landlords, have yielded greater profit to the tenant, and have afforded more means of subsistence to the public." And again, "In many instances the cultivated wastes have proved more fertile and productive than the old lands." Macaulay's conclusion is equally emphatic. "It seems highly probable," he says, "that a fourth part of England has been in the course of little more than a century turned from a wild into a garden." And to adopt the testimony of an earlier writer, "When we pass over the lands which have undergone this happy change, we are enchanted as with the appearance of a new colony. Harvests, flocks, and smiling habitations have succeeded to the sadness and sterility of the desert."

This is the bright side of the picture. It is but fair to add that there were on the other hand certain disadvantages, and that in the opinion of some these outweighed all the benefits I have enumerated. The commons, as a rule, had been free for all to wander upon them at will. Many vagrants had indeed been tacitly permitted to erect rude

shanties upon the waste and to make these their abode. But the commissioners who made the division could only recognise the legal rights of the lord and the freehold commoners. No one else had really any rights to claim, and so these poor squatters found themselves driven from their homes without any allotment. The general public, too, discovered that the breezy open to which they had had free access from time immemorial was no longer available. The hardship thus occasioned to the poor found voice in those lines of Goldsmith:—

> Where then, ah! where shall poverty reside,
> To 'scape the pressure of contiguous pride?
> If to some common's fenceless limits strayed
> He drives his flock to pick the scanty blade,
> Those fenceless fields the sons of wealth divide,
> And even the bare-worn common is denied.

As the movement tended to increase the size of farms, the smaller freeholders, who had just been able to maintain themselves with the assistance of the pasture of the common, were compelled to give up their holdings, and sink into the class of agricultural labourers. Cottager tenants, who kept a few cows and pastured them on the common, found that their landlord added his allotment to the farms, and their cows were, therefore, of necessity sold. A report from Cranage in Cheshire, at the end of the century, says "poor men's cows and sheep have no place or any being." These evils were, however, regarded as inevitable, and no more than the rise of the price of labour, tithe, rates, and taxes would infallibly have produced, though more gradually, without any inclosure. The fact of their existence was not allowed to militate against the general policy of inclosure, but was merely brought forward as a reminder of the obligation in carrying out that policy to look more carefully to the interests of the poor. Another complaint, which seems to have been very general, was based on the cost of

carrying out the inclosures, and, considering that a special Act of Parliament was necessary in each case, this need not be wondered at. But the passing of a General Inclosure Act, for which a demand arose, would obviously have the effect of further facilitating the movement. Thus the century ended with a general approval of the policy of inclosure and a determination to continue it. There was no sign as yet of any care for the interests of the public as such, nor of that movement which has gathered strength so remarkably of late years, the movement for securing the commons for the recreation and exercise of the inhabitants at large in despite of improving landowners, who were not yet regarded as other than public benefactors.

So much for the general aspects of the question. Let us now turn to our two home counties, and trace the progress of the movement in our own immediate neighbourhood. And as a preliminary, and just by way of recognition of the fact that there was an inclosure question in much earlier times, I may mention one or two instances we have recorded of inclosures in preceding centuries. The town fields of Padiham, near Burnley, appear to have been divided in the year 1529, by Sir John Townley, Nicholas Tempest, and Nicholas Banastre, the Commissioners for Inclosure. The common lands at Denton were inclosed about 1597, when two hundred and ninety-two acres or thereabouts were appropriated by the adjacent landowners. This appropriation appears to have been resisted by certain inhabitants who appealed to the Duchy Court, with what success I have been unable to discover. Rowton Heath, near Chester, I find was inclosed in 1630, and at West Kirby, in Cheshire, where a large portion of the land of the township was common, several appropriations took place from time to time, one of them in 1709 being effected by drawing lots

Our present concern however is with the eighteenth century, and in that century the earliest instance of a Lancashire or Cheshire Inclosure Act is in the year 1724, when was passed "An Act to enclose the Common and Tract of Land called Croston-Finney in the County of Lancaster." This Act did not apply to the whole of the waste land in Croston, as we shall find later on a second one under which a further portion was dealt with. In the same year (1724), another Act was passed applying to waste ground in Westhoughton. Six years later, the commons and parcels of waste ground in the township of Claughton, near Garstang, were similarly dealt with. Then follows a long interval of twenty years, during which there is no single instance of an Inclosure Act relating to Lancashire or Cheshire, although, at the same time, multitudes were being passed in respect to other parts of the kingdom. It is not at all unlikely, however, that during this interval, as at other periods, many inclosures were carried out by mutual agreement. Where the commoners were few in number and all of full age and competent to consent, a scheme could be carried out without going to Parliament and without the expensive machinery of a commission. The title of this next Act, passed in 1750, seems to imply that some such method had been tried in that particular case, but had been found to be after all incomplete without the sanction of the Legislature. It is entitled "An Act for confirming Articles of Agreement for inclosing and dividing the Commons and Waste Grounds within the Manor of Culcheth, in the County of Lancaster." Another instance of inclosure by agreement without statutory authority has been kindly brought to my notice by Mr. Norbury. From the recitals in a mortgage deed set out in the *Cheshire Notes and Queries* for 1885, p. 36, it appears that in 1772 and 1775 portions of Lindow Common, in the townships of Pownall Fee, Bollin Fee, and Fulshaw

(Cheshire), extending in the whole to thirty-five Cheshire acres, and a portion of Gillgore Common, in the township of Chorley, containing eight such acres, were inclosed with the assent of the lords of the manor and some of the principal freeholders and leaseholders, a workhouse being erected on part of the land so inclosed. The lands thus dealt with are described in the mortgage deed, executed a few years later, as then divided into fields and let to several tenants.

Our next instance under statutory powers is in 1756, when the commons in Ellel, near Lancaster, were authorised to be inclosed. Longton, near Preston, Walton-on-the-Hill, and Fazakerley follow in 1759; Lowton, near Wigan, and Astley, in 1762. According to the writer in 1794 above referred to, Ellel was the only instance (in Lancashire, presumably) where an attempt to improve waste lands had failed. Notwithstanding lime had been laid on and the ground treated according to the usual custom of improving the wastes, after a few crops taken it seemed verging back towards its original state of poverty.

Then in 1765 comes the first Cheshire Act, one relating to the manor of Appleton, of which Sir Peter Warburton was the lord. This manor included Hillcliffe Common, School Common, Great Stockton Heath, Little Stockton Heath, Spen Heath, and other small pieces of common containing in the whole eighty-seven Cheshire acres. The same Act applied also to the manor of Lymm, of which half belonged to Sir Peter Warburton and half to Mascie Taylor, Esq., and the Rev. Domville Halsted. The commons within this manor included Broomedge, Heatley Heath, Little Heatley, Statham Common, Morley Common, Wilders Moor, Green's Common, Reddish Green, and other small pieces of common, containing in all one hundred and thirty-six Cheshire acres. One-

sixteenth of the whole was to go to the lords of the manor. The following extract from the preamble to this Act setting out the grounds upon which the assistance of the legislature was invoked, will serve as a specimen of the generality of such enactments:—

"And whereas the said several Parcels of Common or Waste Grounds within the said Manors respectively at present afford little or no Profit or Advantage, but are capable of great Improvement, and the same would (if divided, inclosed, and allotted, so that they might be converted into Tillage) be of great Benefit and Advantage to the Persons interested therein, and be of publick Utility:

"And whereas the said Sir Peter Warburton, Mascie Taylor, Domville Halsted, and the several other Owners and Proprietors, and Lessees or Tenants of Estates within the said Manors respectively, having such Right of Common upon the said Common or Waste Grounds respectively, have proposed, and are willing and desirous that the said several Parcels of Common or Waste Grounds, situate within the said Manors respectively should be severed, divided, allotted and inclosed by Commissioners in that behalf to be appointed, unto and for the Benefit of the respective Lords of the said Manors, and the several Persons intitled to Right of Common thereon respectively as aforesaid; and that their several Shares and Allotments, resulting from such Division may be held in severalty by them, according to their respective rights and interests in and to the several ancient Messuages, Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments aforesaid."

The year 1765 also saw passed an Act applying to Walkden Moor and part of Chat Moss, lying within the manor of Worsley, of which the Duke of Bridgewater was lord. He took one-twentieth of Walkden Moor as well as all the mines under the common. According to Baines, one

thousand acres of Chat Moss were dealt with under this Act. The Act refers, by the way, to the right of "following ground;" the right, that is to say, of the lord to take possession of and hold free from all rights of common the parts of the moss from which all the turf had been cut. The right was referred to and upheld in a case relating to Stalmine Moss, in Lancashire, which came before the Courts in 1783.

From this time onward the Acts become more numerous, there being one almost every year. In 1766, we have one dealing with Cuddington or Bryn Common, in the parish of Weaverham, Cheshire. This is stated to have contained four hundred and sixty acres. In 1767, several commons within the manor of Chorley, Lancashire, are dealt with, as well as the common, waste grounds, and sandhills, called Layton Hawes, in Poulton and Bispham parishes, close to the present town of Blackpool. This common had in earlier times been the subject of litigation, the existence of a manor at all and the rights of the person who assumed to be lord having been called in question. The litigation was renewed in the year 1712, when the freeholders and inhabitants combined to resist the claims of Edward Fleetwood, Esq., of Rossall, who, they alleged, pretended to have a right to inclose part of the common, and had caused turves to be "duged" and carried away from off the common, and endeavoured to hinder the inhabitants from getting sandstones or other stones lying between Layton and the sea. How the dispute terminated I do not know, beyond the fact that the Inclosure Act just mentioned was passed in 1767.

The commons dealt with in the succeeding years were those in Wavertree, near Liverpool (1768); Barniker Moor, in Nether Wyersdale (1771); Grappenhall and Latchford, Cheshire (1773); Oswaldtwistle (1774); and Little Harwood (1776). In 1777, the common fields in the Manor of

Yealands, including Waitham Moss and Hilderstone Moss were made the subject of an Act. Mrs. Sarah Gibson, the lady of the manor, had twenty acres allotted to her as compensation for her interest in the soil. Her right to the mines under the rest of the common was afterwards litigated and in the result disallowed. The townships of Kingsley, Newton near Kingsley, Norley and Crowton, near Frodsham, appear next in the list (1777); followed by Lathom and Skelmersdale (1778). The next differs from the rest in not being simply an Inclosure Act. It is "An Act for draining, improving, and preserving the lowlands in the parishes of Altcar, Sefton, Halsall, and Walton-on-the-Hill." Under this act a special rate was to be levied upon the owners and occupiers of the lands liable to be flooded by the river Alt to defray the expense of repairing floodgates and the cost of drainage. New floodgates, it is stated, were erected in 1831.

In 1779, we have also Acts for inclosure of lands at Lower Darwen, Lancashire, and Cranage, Cheshire. Then follow, in the period between 1785 and 1791, Forton (1785), eighty acres; Clitheroe (1786), three hundred acres; Billington and Wilpshire (1788); Wiswell Moor (1789), three hundred and fifty acres; Tarvin (1791), four hundred and seventy-one acres; Christleton (1791), two hundred and seventy-seven acres. Bolton Moor and other commons in the township of Great Bolton follow in 1792. Bolton was treated differently from other places in that the residue of the land, after giving one-fifteenth to the lords of the manor, was directed to be sold on chief rent or let on long leases, the rents to be applied in aid of the poor rate. In other words the general public of the town benefited instead of individual commoners. The final award in this case was not made until fifteen years after the passing of the Act. According to this document, the land inclosed (estimated in the Act at

two hundred and seventy acres) is stated to be 289a. or. 29p. or, after deducting the quantity set out for roads, 247a. 3r. 29p.

In 1793 we have three hundred and sixty acres in Weaverham, Cheshire, and eleven hundred acres in Frodsham and Helsby, and in the following year two hundred acres in Tushingham-cum-Grindley, near Malpas. Lancashire provides instances in Claife, near Hawkshead, where thirteen hundred and fifty acres were to be enclosed, and in Clayton-le-Moors, near Whalley. At Congleton, where Mr. C. W. J. Shakerley was lord of the manor, the inclosure was authorised in 1795, and in the same year a similar measure passed for Edgworth, near Bolton. At Macclesfield the manorial rights belonged to the Crown, and out of seven hundred and sixty acres, 118a. 2r. 34p. were allotted to the king as compensation for the extinguishment of these rights (1796).

At Farnworth and Kersley there were several commons: Halshaw Moor, Kersley Moor, Dixon Green, and Blackhurst Green, the lord of the manor being William Hulton, Esq. Kersley Moss was much resorted to for turf. Oak and alder trees were, it is said, found deeply imbedded in the peat. Among the freeholders entitled to right of common were the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Derby, Lord Bradford, Sir J. P. Mosley, and Le Gendre Pierce Starkie, Esq. The Act in this case was passed in 1796.

In that and the following year a group of places in the north of Lancashire obtained Acts. That in regard to Lancaster Marsh (1796) can scarcely be called an Inclosure Act, its object, as defined by the title, being to embank, drain, and otherwise improve the Marsh, which is, however, described as a stinted pasture, that is a common where the right of pasturing is limited to a definite number of beasts or to particular times of the year. The inclosure proposed

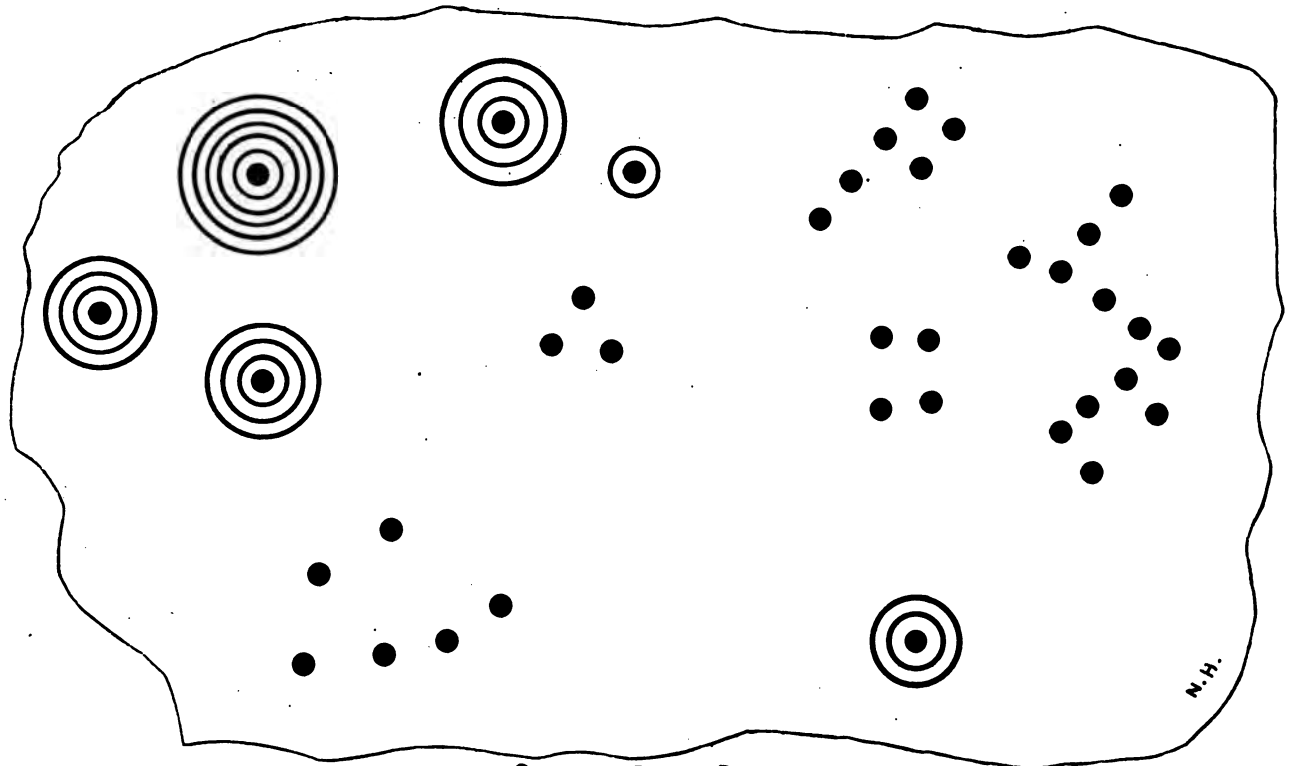
to be made in Cartmel parish (1796) extended to no fewer than twelve thousand five hundred and sixteen acres, and in addition to this, as we learn from Baines, a large part of the marshes below Flookborough were embanked, but ineffectually, for in the course of eight years two hundred and thirty acres were washed away by the heavy surfs of the Bay of Morecambe.

In 1797, Halton Moor, Over Kellet Moor, and the commons within the Honour and Manor of Hornby were authorised to be inclosed, as well as those at Harwood, near Blackburn, and one hundred and fifty acres at Ditton, near Widnes. Then in 1799 we have Thornton Marsh in Poulton and Bispham, and lands in Ulverston. In 1800, the last year of the century, we come again upon Croston, which it will be remembered headed the list as being the first place in Lancashire to attempt a Parliamentary inclosure. There was, we are told, a great deal of waste land in Croston, but the former Act had much reduced its extent. In the later Act, Croston was associated with several neighbouring places: Mawdesley, Rufford, Bispham, Tarleton, and Bretherton. The objects of the Act included the drainage of the low lands, for which purpose a special rate was laid on the landowners and tenantry. The first operations under the Act were, it appears, ill-conducted and attended with much unnecessary expense, but the object was ultimately effected to the essential improvement of the value of the land and the health and comfort of the inhabitants. One Act only now remains to be mentioned, that relating to three hundred and fifty acres of common in Hale and Halewood, and with this, having reached the end of the century, I conclude the list.

To summarise. The number of Acts passed during the century was, for Lancashire, forty; for Cheshire, twelve, both numbers being very moderate in comparison with those

relating to other counties. Of the extent of ground dealt with, I have not been able to form any reliable opinion, the quantities stated in the Acts being merely estimates, the basis moreover being sometimes the statute and sometimes the local Cheshire or Lancashire measure. The returns are therefore very unreliable. I find it stated that the aggregate dealt with by the twelve Cheshire Acts was ten thousand five hundred and sixty-three acres, and that twenty-seven of the Lancashire Acts (but which twenty-seven there is no means of ascertaining) related to twenty-six thousand eight hundred and one acres.

Whatever the extent of the work thus done in the eighteenth century, much still remained for the nineteenth. According to a careful estimate made at the time, there were still in Lancashire one hundred and eight thousand five hundred acres of wastes, moors, and marshes, twenty-six thousand five hundred of which were moss or fen; and in Cheshire sixty thousand acres of wastes, including peat bogs and mosses. Much of this was dealt with in the remaining years of the reign of George III., and some in the succeeding reigns. That the whole will ever be brought under cultivation is hardly to be expected, and, perhaps, not to be desired in the interests of town dwellers who love the breezy moors. But there can, I think, be little doubt that in Lancashire and Cheshire, as in other parts of the country, the inclosures of the eighteenth century were on the whole conducive to the public benefit and tended powerfully to that increase in material well-being for which the century was noteworthy, and which was a necessary forerunner of the increased leisure, the higher aims, and the wider sympathies which we find prevalent to-day.



CUP AND RING STONES.
Scale ½ inch to 1 foot.

SKETCH A

THE CUP AND RING STONES ON THE PANORAMA ROCKS, NEAR ROMBALD'S MOOR, ILKLEY, YORKSHIRE.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD.

CUP and ring sculptures are in existence nearly all over the world. Some of them are so ancient that, I am informed, examples are found beneath the Great Pyramid in Egypt.

On Rombald's Moor a few incised specimens of the pre-Roman period remain, but on the Panorama Rocks only two have escaped destruction (see illustrations). The import of their mysterious markings is quite unknown, and we are left to make our own conjectures.

Let us examine the drawings of them. Upon sketch A there are six cups surrounded by rings, varying in number from one ring to five, and several cups without any rings round them. Upon sketch B there are sixteen cups surrounded by rings, varying in number from one ring to six, and one cup without rings, and some of the cups and rings are joined to other cups and rings by what are apparently representations of ladders.

Little information can be adduced from these two stones when considered by themselves, but by comparing them with others in the immediate neighbourhood we are enabled to arrive at safer conclusions of their import.

Upon Addingham Moor a short distance from the *locus in quo* some of the cups are surrounded by crescents, and upon other stones there are sculpturings which have markings upon them resembling ground plans, with cups and rings also upon them; thus connecting the stones possessing ground plans with the cup and ring stones.

If any meaning is to be gathered from the cup surrounded by a crescent, it probably was a symbol of the moon.

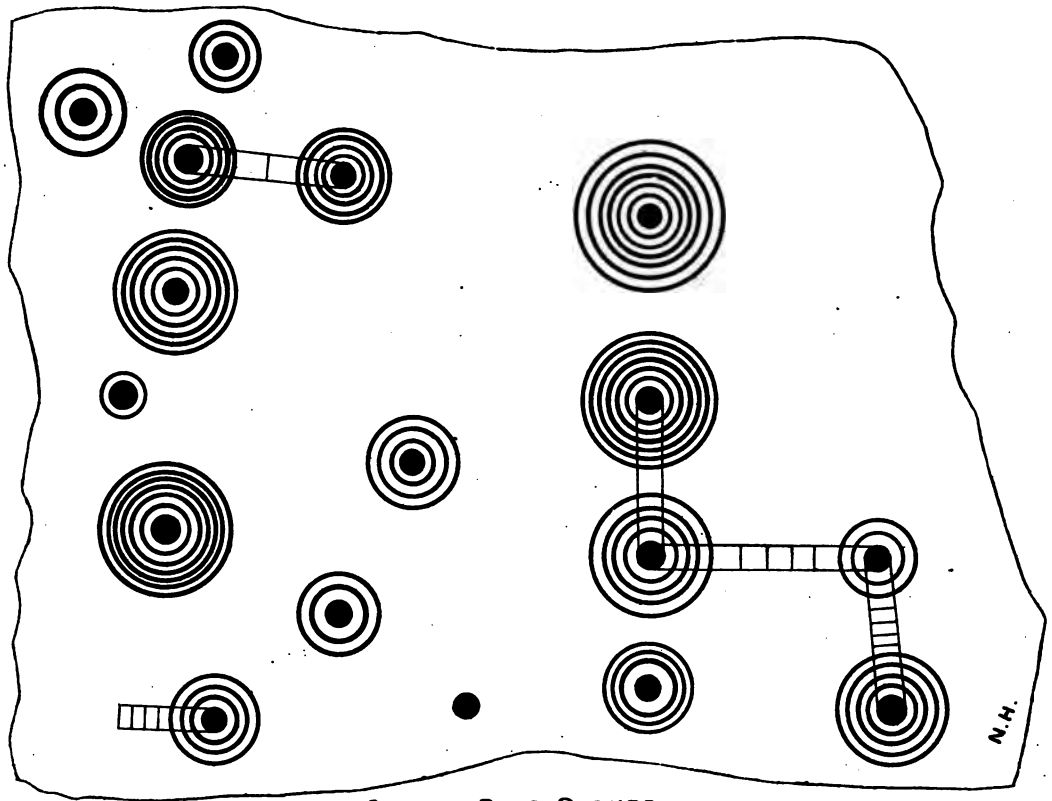
The cups surrounded by rings, and joined to other cups and rings by means of the ladders, may have been intended as emblematical of some mysterious connection of the earth with the heavens or planets.

The cups without rings were possibly used to represent fixed stars, whilst the cups with rings represented planets, and the circles were added to give those planets the appearance of being in motion.

The markings, like ground plans, perhaps were utilised to explain the motion of the planets round the fixed stars. I venture to suggest that these sculpturings have been used as diagrams either by astrologers or worshippers of the stars or planets, or both.

If the ancient inhabitants who used these phenomena were like many other early religionists who met in secluded places to keep their ceremonies from the observations of the uninitiated, they have not only succeeded in doing so, but in like manner have kept from us everything save their incised sculptures to speculate upon, and the sequel to which we were never intended and at present appear unlikely ever to discover.

If the cups surrounded by a single circle were intended to convey any emblematical meaning, eternity so commonly expressed by A and Ω would, to my mind, seem to be the most appropriate.



CUP AND RING STONES.
Scale ½ inch to 1 foot.

SKETCH B.

UNIV.
OF
MICH.

LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY, F.S.A.

BY ERNEST AXON.

JOHN EGLINGTON BAILEY, son of Charles Bailey and his wife Mary Elizabeth, daughter of John Eglington, of Ashbourne, was born at Edgbaston, Birmingham, 13th February, 1840. His family removing into Lancashire in his boyhood, Mr. Bailey received his education at Boteler's Grammar School, Warrington, and at Owens College; and afterwards entered the service of Messrs. Ralli, at their Manchester warehouse, where he remained till shortly before his death, which occurred 23rd August, 1888. He was buried at Stretford Church, 27th August. Mr. Bailey's principal work was the *Life of Thomas Fuller*, 1874, and some of the earlier papers mentioned in the following list were incorporated in it. Other subjects in which Mr. Bailey took a deep interest were the lives of seventeenth-century divines, Lancashire and Cheshire topography, and shorthand. A history and bibliography of English stenography was one of his unfulfilled intentions; and he at one time intended issuing an edition of Fuller's sermons, to be in two volumes, but the project got no further than the printing of a few sheets, which were never issued. Mr. Bailey was a member

of council of several of the local historical societies, and for the six years preceding his death held the position of honorary secretary of the Chetham Society.

The fullest memoir of Mr. Bailey is that written by Mr. W. E. A. Axon, in the *Manchester Quarterly*, October, 1888. Other notices may be found in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Manchester Examiner*, August 24th, 1888, in the *Manchester Courier*, August 25th, the *Manchester City News*, August 25th and September 1st, and in the twelfth edition of *Men of the Time.*

The compiler of this list of Mr. Bailey's writings has to express his thanks to the Rev. B. H. Blacker, editor of *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries* for the references to Mr. Bailey's contributions to that journal, and to Mr. George Hanson, of the Rochdale Free Library, for placing at his service a set of the *Preston Guardian* "Sketches in Local History."

It may be as well to mention that the *Manchester Courier* "Local Gleanings" for 1879 and the *Preston Guardian* "Sketches" have not been reprinted in book form, and that Mr. Bailey's contributions to his own magazine, the *Palatine Note-book*, are not included in this list.

1862.

1. The Literary History of the Bible. Delivered to the members of the Manchester and Salford Phonographic Union. Pitman's *Popular Lecturer*, June, July, and August, 1862.

1863.

2. The Life of Thomas Hood. Delivered to the members of the Manchester and Salford Phonographic Union, 25th February, 1863. Pitman's *Popular Lecturer*, viii. 161-186.
3. The Synonyms of the New Testament. A paper read at the Teachers' Preparation Class, Chorlton Road Congregational Church. 12mo, pp. 12.

1864.

4. The Life and Wit of Thomas Fuller. Pitman's *Popular Lecturer*, ix. 9-26.
5. Basing House, Hampshire. *Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, v. 499.
6. Lord Hopton. *Ibid.*, v. 515.

1868.

7. Latimer as a Preacher. *Owens College Magazine*, June, 1868, p. 47.
8. Fuller on Pegasus. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

1869.

9. Dr. William Fuller, Bishop of Lincoln. *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, iv. 435.
10. Rothwell Crypt and Naseby Battle. *Ibid.*, iv. 441.
11. Doctor Thomas Fuller and the Westminster Petition to the King. *Ibid.*, iv. 466.

1870.

12. Queen Eleanore and her Memorial Crosses. 8vo, pp. 35. Reprinted from the *Owens College Magazine*, vol. ii., 1870. With slight alterations this lecture also appeared in the *Chorlton Road Congregational Church Magazine*, June and September, 1870.

1871.

13. The Tchinghianés. *Owens College Magazine*, January, 1871, p. 85.
14. An Old Wordsman [Fuller] and his relations to Modern Dictionaries. *Ibid.*, April, 1871, p. 170.

1873.

15. Dr. Fuller. *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, xii. 47.
16. "Mr. Fuller's Observations of the Shires." *Ibid.*, xii. 110.
17. While = Until. *Ibid.*, xii. 189.
18. Funeral Sermons on Dr. Nathanael Hardy, Dean of Rochester. *Ibid.*, xii. 225.
19. Thomas Fuller's Sermon upon Charles I. *Ibid.*, xii. 288, 335.
20. Dr. Thomas Fuller's Petition for his Composition. *Ibid.*, xii. 301. Also printed separately in s.sh.
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THE STANLEY CHAPEL IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL AND ITS FOUNDER.

BY THE REV. ERNEST F. LETTS, M.A.

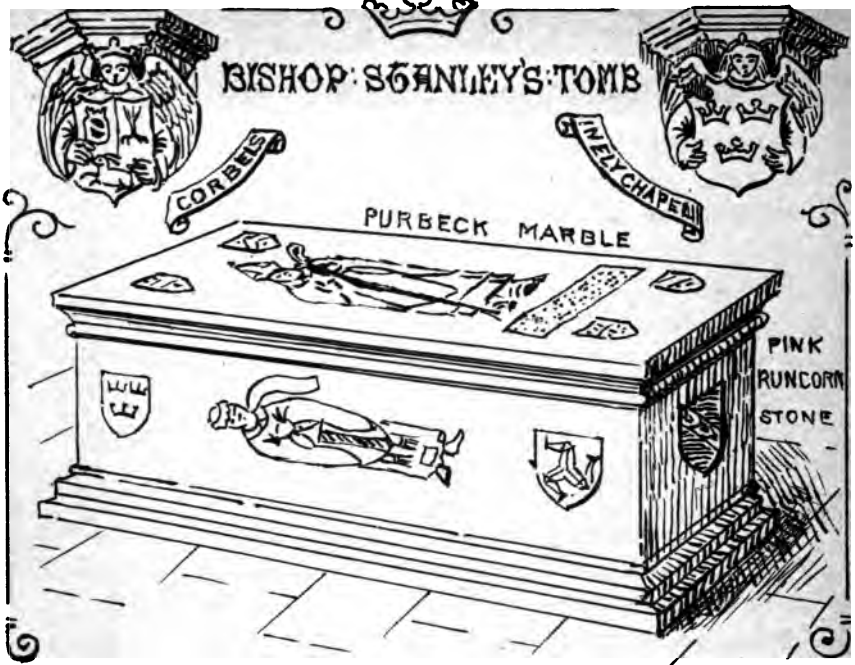
The Stanley or Ely Chapel.

TO the north-east of the nave of Manchester Cathedral lies a chapel, entered by a door in a rich parclose screen. At the north-west corner of the north choir aisle, ascending three steps, you enter under a quaint piece of heraldic oak carving into an ante-chapel, in which are two doors, one leading to the yard, the other to the chapel proper.* This is called the Derby Chapel; it is dedicated to St. John Baptist, and was built by Bishop Stanley and Sir John Stanley, who, some people think, was his natural son. This chapel of five bays is co-extensive with the choir, being twenty-eight yards long, and about twenty-one feet broad; at its east end is a very wide perpendicular window of seven lights, under which is an altar. To the north again of this chapel is a small four-square chapel, occupying the second bay from the east. A massive parclose screen and door, which were once parts of the St. James's Chapel, in the nave, now separate these two chapels, and clumsily cover an altar tomb of grey York

* The western wall of this chapel has now been pulled down.

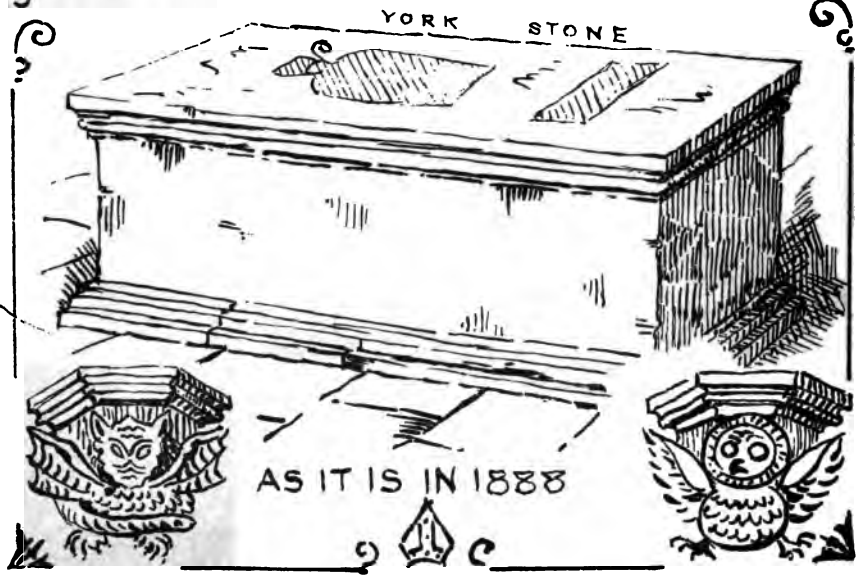
flags. This tomb is very plain, very long, and has screwed to its top the mutilated remains of a fine brass. Within living memory its top was of Purbeck marble,* its sides were of rosy-pink Runcorn stone, and it was adorned with many coats of arms and the figure of a priest with label issuing from his mouth. William Cole, the Cambridge antiquary, who died in 1782, described it thus: "In the third north Isle of the Choir of the Collegiate Church in the Division of the Small Chapel and said Isle lieth an altar tomb of stone or marble rather on the south side of which is the figure reaved of a priest with a sercle from his mouth, very small, and 2 coats of arms. On the top is the figure in brass of a bishop in Pontificalibus, with a fine mitre richly adorned on his head, a crosier in his left hand, and giving his benediction with his right, which is adorned with rings, the four escocheons at ye corners are reaved, but the inscription at his feet is perfect, the last line or two of the latin with which it concludes I did not take for want of time and light. This was preserved no doubt by the Earl of Derby, whose chapel it is, and that on the south side by it I was told by one of the Chaplains, the Rev. M^{r} Clayton, yields to the Earl an hundred pounds a year only for burials, to which use it is wholly applied, being a large Chapel and contiguous to ye north Isle by the Choir and too near to be used for separate Service, which the town wanted and desired to divide by a wall to prevent being heard in the Choir, and

* Mr. John Owen, of Stockport, disputes this, and sends me the following note, made in "1859, Jany. 20: This afternoon the slab belonging to the Tomb of Bishop Stanley was taken off, and broken up, a new slab is preparing, but of Yorkshire stone, the old one is evidently from Collyhurst; the moulding of edges, having been worn and disfigured, had at some time been repaired with plaster or cement. The moulded edges of the new stone are copied from the original, the shields round the sides of the old Tomb are not reproduced in the new one. 1859, Jany. 24: The new slab for the Bishop was brought in and laid on the new Tomb."



RESTORED FROM DRAWING BY COLE JANUARY 1717.

BISHOP: STANLEY'S: TOMB



YE BRASS
OF JAMES STANLEY
BISHOP OF ELY
WARDEN OF MANCHESTER
BURIED IN THE ELY
CHAPEL IN MAN-
CHESTER CATHEDRAL

Off yr charite pray for the soule of James Stanley sūtyme bulhope
of Ely and warden of this colige of Manchester which decessed out
of this transitorie wilde the xxiiij days of March the yr of our lord God
M.CCCC.xlix upon whō soule and all cristen soulis Ihesu have mercy
have dō gratus toto mūdo tumultatus & crimine mūdat temp transit
re par alius filiū pōm ālq quo grem corde, utquid diligit vanitate
et querit mendacium solimm sperere et ei intelligeret ac no visitet provide vet

too far from the Choir to assist at the service going forward there; the figure is not very large and seems full faced and fat." (Cole MS. Brit. Mus. 5,836, p. 66.) The inscription now on the tomb is as follows:—

Off yr charite pray for ye soule of James Stanley sūtyme bushipe of Ely and warden of this Colige of Manchester which decessed oute of this transitore worlde the xxxj daye of March the yr of oure lorde God MCCCCCCxv upon who⁶ soule and all cristen Souls ihesu have mercy. Vive dō gratus toto mūdo tumulatus ℣ Crimine mūdat' Semp. transire paratus ℣ Filii bom̄i usque quo gravi corde, ut quid diligite vanitatē et querit mendaciū ℣ Utinam Saperent et intelligerēt ac novissima provideret.

The latter portion of the epitaph may be translated as follows: "Live thankful to God, buried from the whole world, cleansed from sin, always prepared to change. O sons of men how long will ye be stubborn hearted? To what end do ye love vanity and seek after deceit?"—(*Psalm* iv. 3. Vulgate).

Above this epitaph is the brass effigy of a bishop. Part of the mitre and all below the knees is gone, as also the four shields at the corners of the stone and two shields at each side and one at the end of the tomb. From a copy by Cole of a mantelpiece at Somersham, we can restore these shields with the arms of Stanley, See of Ely, Man, Lathom, Nevill, Beaufort, &c.; we can restore the figure of the rived priest even to the motto in his mouth—but we pass on to describe the brass effigy.

Joseph Aston, in his history and description of the Collegiate Church, about 1823, says, "formerly the arms of Stanley and those of the bishopric of Ely were upon the tomb; on the sides were also brass effigies of kneeling figures, from whose mouths labels issued, on which were engraved pious ejaculations."

The bishop is represented in full Pontifical vestments, in the act of giving the benediction with his right hand, while he holds an elaborately chased and crocketed pastoral staff in his left. The vestments which are depicted in this brass are, I consider, unique for their beauty and clearness of representation, while the delicacy of the features and hands could not be surpassed by any modern artist. The bishop wears a mitre called the pretiosa, the upper part of which is lost; on either side of its orphrey (border) are two large oval precious stones, above which are roses of pearls. The orphrey is treated in a like manner, precious stones between roses of pearl, while the ground work of the mitre appears to be sewn with seed pearls, the labels can be seen behind the bishop's head. He wears his hair cut long. The features are rather elongated, and the wrinkles on the face show him to have been an old man. In proportion to his height his head and hands are remarkably small. He was six feet seven inches in height. (A surgeon who saw his bones when they were exhumed some fifty years ago verified the fact of his great stature). His right hand has rings on the middle finger and thumb over the episcopal glove. The apparel of the alb is just discernible at the wrist. The left hand, which is also gloved, grasps the sudarium, or sweat cloth, which covers the stem of the pastoral staff. The head of the staff is an octagon turret from which issues the crocketed volute, having within its foliation a Tudor rose. The principal vestment of the bishop is a chasuble of short dimensions, decorated down the front with a pillar orphrey instead of the Y cross usual in most old English brasses. The vestment is, however, quite different in shape from the modern Roman chasuble. This orphrey is covered with a fine diaper of needlework, and finishes at the neck with the collar and folds of the amice, which is also richly embroidered.

The border of the chasuble is encrusted with jewels. Depending from the left arm may be seen the double ends of the maniple or fanon, as it was sometimes called, which is fringed or otherwise ornamented. The chasuble, which terminates in a circular sweep above the knee, reveals beneath it the square or fringed skirts of the dalmatic, on the left side of which the long gusset can be seen. The front of this vestment is adorned with acanthus leaves. Unfortunately the rest of this exquisite brass, which must have displayed the tunicle, the ends of the crossed stole, the alb with its apparel of needlework at the feet, the episcopal sandals which were often most elaborately decorated, and the spiked end of the staff, have been lost.

Under this tomb the ashes of a great man rested in peace from 1515 to 1812, nearly three hundred years, when, says Barritt (MS. 8,026, Chetham Library): "June 15th, 1812. The tomb in the Old Church, Manchester, of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely and Warden of Manchester, was slightly opened; his bones not being found within, search was made under it, where they were discovered, the back-bone, shoulder blades, collar-bones, and ribs, mouldered away; no part of a coffin, shroud, or trinket being found with them. The search was at the desire of Mr. Wray, none being present but he and myself, except the sextons. This settles the point which has been discussed whether he was buried in the Old Church or at Ely where is a monument to his memory. From the appearance of his bones he must have been a stout man six feet high or more." Barritt is in error in stating that there is a monument at Ely.

Palmer, in the *Manchester Foundations* (vol. ii., p. 328), states that in 1812 the body was exhumed from four and a half feet below the surface, head to west, arms crossed over the breast. The skeleton measured six feet four inches, and the thigh bone was twenty inches long.

Two curious corbels on the walls at each side of a window in the Ely Chapel mark the place where probably an altar stood. One is an angel bearing the Arms of the See of Ely. Another a curious sort of rebus, a ducally crowned S, an eagle's claw, and a couchant buck. Of course the iconoclasm which has distinguished the restorer's march through Manchester cathedral has obliterated all trace of credence or piscina, altar slab or foot pace, and it has also put a new roof on the chapel with *plaster* decoration.

Dr. James Stanley.

It seems impossible to fix the exact date of James Stanley's birth, but it must have been about 1450. He was probably reared at Lathom Castle, where his mother, Eleanor Nevill, daughter of Richard Nevill, and sister of the king-making Earl of Warwick, loved to have a company of well-read and scholarly men about her. His tutor was Thomas Westbury, a learned Oxonian,* and James became afterwards a scholar of that university.

That he was a poor scholar would appear from the difficulty experienced in taking his degree, and from Prior Robert Stuart's remark, *Armis quam libris peritior*, more skilled in wielding the sword than the paper-knife. When the University of Oxford came to grant his degree of doctor in *decretis*, the grant was withheld for a year, and then it was to be conferred by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London placing a cap upon his head; for this honour, tardy though it was, he sent a very ample letter of thanks to the faculty. Godwin tells us that the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him, in 1506, by the University of Cambridge, when the culminating moment of his life was reached and he was consecrated Bishop of Ely.

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* Croston's *Lancashire and Cheshire Families*, p. 43.

Having been early designed for the church we find him soon in orders. In 1479, being then somewhere about twenty-nine, he was appointed prebendary of Dunham in Southwell Minster. Five years afterwards he was nominated precentor of Salisbury, but was not collated till 1505. He resigned this office in 1506 upon his consecration to Ely. In 1485 he became warden of Manchester, to which he was presented by Thomas West, Lord De la Warr, Lord of Manchester, the then patron. The record at Lichfield is dated 22nd July, 1485. In 1491 he became prebendary of Yetminster in Salisbury, and in 1492 exchanged this stall for Bedminster in the same cathedral. In the next year we find him Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, London, and on the 19th of November, 1500, he was appointed archdeacon of Richmond. Besides all these honours it would appear that he was rector of Walton-on-the-Hill, rector of Rostherne, rector of Winwick, and prebendary of Ripon; but as if these preferments were all too little for the stepson of the king's mother, we meet him in 1496 in Paris, endeavouring to acquire sufficient learning to make him worthy of a bishopric. Erasmus says that he came there to him and offered to pay a large sum for instruction, but was refused because Erasmus wanted to study and could not be bothered with rich dolts. Knight records this in his *Life of Erasmus*,* but as we find Stanley busily engaged at his rectory of Winwick in 1495 entertaining his royal connection, Henry VII., and as we

* "He mentions also a young priest who lived in the house with him in Paris (the year before he came to England) who had refus'd a Bishopprick in England knowing his insufficiency, but was to be recalled to it by the King when he had got a little more learning abroad: and who therefore offered Erasmus an hundred crowns to teach him for that one year: and promised him a benefice in a few months, and to lend him three hundred crowns till he was put in possession of it. This youth seems to have been James Stanley son of Thomas earl of Derby . . . afterwards Bishop of Ely." (Knight's *Erasmus*, p. 18.)

know he was also engaged in other home matters about that time, I am again doubtful of this testimony.

Mr. J. Stanley is mentioned in a deed: "Ind^{t} y^{t} Jas Hulme one of ye Charterers belonging unto Sir John Bothe Knt within ye townshipp of Bar^{n} did his homage unto ye sd Sir John B. Knt at Werrynyton in ye month of July in ye 15th yere of ye reigne of King H. 7. (1499). In ye p'sence of George Stanley L'd Strange M^{r} Jas. S. Clerk, Warden of ye Ch of Mancest^{r} Sir Thos Assheton Sir Henry Kighley Knts Rich Assheton of Midleton Squier W^{m} Chrantrell Hugh Halsall lernet men among other." [Dodgson MS., v. 10, 86; c. 212, fo. 38.]

"In 1501, Robert Chetham enfeoffed him and others with houses and lands for the endowment of a Chantry within the Collegiate Church, the Warden and one of the Vicars to be perpetual feoffees, this was the Second Chantry at the Altar of S. George."—*Lanc. Chantries*, vol. i., p. 46, *note.*

In 1504, Thomas, first Earl of Derby, in his will commended his son James Stanley to his stepson, the king, "that he would be to him his very good lord," but he inherited nothing by this will.

In 1505, he was instrumental in having the bridge between Manchester and Salford thoroughly repaired and the little chapel on one of its piers put into due and proper order.

"On 21 June 1506 James 'Bishop of Ely' released to Ralph Hulme all his rights in property once belonging to John Huntyngdon the 1st Warden signed Ja Elien, the seal small and broken." (Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 36.)

The seal which I am able to give by the kindness of my friend, Mr. A. Moore, of 89, Southampton Row, is not the one mentioned here nor is the signature, neither of which I could trace by the preceding reference. His episcopal seal

OVER-DOOR-IN-DERBY-CHAPEL

FROM AN OLD HOUSE IN OLD MILLGATE

ORIGINAL STANLEY COAT AS FORRESTER OF WIRRAL, 1282.

FROM THE SAME

BISHOP STANLEY'S SEAL

Jacobus Stanleye

E.R.L.

is a beautiful representation of one of our Manchester Cathedral stall canopies, under which stands the virgin Etheldreda with pastoral staff in right hand and a book in her left. She is crowned, being daughter of Anna, King of the East Angles, and she wears the robes of an Abbess, being the foundress of the Abbey of Ely. She was niece of St. Hilda, of Whitby. Above her head is a seated figure of the Virgin and child; below her feet is, on a shield, an eagle displayed; round the rim of the vesica are the words: [Sigill]um Jacobi Stan[ley] [Divina per]missione [Eliensis Episcopi.] (See Birch's *Seals*, vol. i., No. 1,514).

"Before resigning the Wardenship of Manchester he caused a careful survey of the parish to be made and the boundaries fixed, for in 1519 John Thorpe æt. 85 deposed that he was present when James Stanley did meet upon Theile Moor and there did tend the Meres between that Parish of Manchester and Oldham parish and did take an order at that time that none should drive but with a little dog and a wand of one year's growing." (Chetham Evid. MS.; Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 38.)

These boundaries were also established as having been settled by James Stanley, in a suit instituted in May, 1601, about the tithes of Manchester and the parish boundaries, wherein it was proved that an inquisition and certificate was made under order of Henry, Earl of Derby, 8th January, 1592, by the justices of the peace for regulating the boundaries.

On his election to the bishopric of Ely in 1506, he would appear to have resigned his other preferments except the wardenship of Manchester, which he held for three years *in commendam;* but his interest in the choir—which doubtless owed much of its splendour to him, and certainly its roof, which is supported by the Stanley eagle at every principal—never ceased. He had already interested himself in a chantry,

on the north side of the nave, dedicated to S. James his patron saint, though which S. James is doubtful. On the mantelpiece given in the illustration, the scallop shell, the emblem of S. James the Great, called of Compostella, from a celebrated shrine in Spain, may indicate which was the patron of this chantry or chapel. In this year, 1506, we find him with Sir John Bamford and other fellows of the college hallowing a new altar in the Jesus Chapel of Manchester Church, and appointing Dom Oliver Thorneleye the chaplain of it and of a guild recently started by Richard Bexwyk the elder and younger. That charter is now in the Chetham College, and is sealed with the college seal. On resigning the wardenship of Manchester he was succeeded by Master Robert Cliff, D.D. The Lichfield registers give Cliff's appointment to Manchester College as 29th October, 1506; and he certainly was one of the four awarders of the estate of John Huntyngdon, 19th July, 1507. About this time Bishop Stanley gave up his livings of Walton on the Hill and Rostherne. (Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*, vol. i., p. 36.)

Bishop Stanley most likely possessed a house in Old Millgate, but besides this and the warden's lodging (the reading room of Chetham Library with the room below it) he had a sumptuous abode in the house and estate of his brother, at Alport Park, a mile from the college, on the Chester Road; this is mentioned by Camden about 1600. "In a park of the Earl of Derby, in this neighbourhood, called Alparc (Alport), I saw the foundations of an old square tower called Mancastle;" this was on or about the site of Mancunium. Here, says Fuller, the bishop resided all the summer with his brother, the Earl of Derby; here, says Godwin, he stayed all the winter; and both add that he never went near his cathedral. I now enter into a painful era of the bishop's history. Godwin, Fuller, Bishop Stanley of Sodor and Man, Baker, and almost

all subsequent writers charge the bishop with immorality, with being the father of young John Stanley, of Flodden fame, with building a house at Somersham "*ubi alebat mulierculam suam*," and with dying in a state of excommunication, whereby his cathedral would not receive his bones, nor would Manchester, and that he had therefore to be buried in the wall of the latter church, a chantry being subsequently built around his remains. My investigations lead me to doubt all these accusations. Godwin and Fuller lived at a time when it was the fashion to revile all pre-reformation bishops; none give references, and their dates do not fit.

The bishop's will is pious, his mottoes are pious; he put up over his mantelpiece, "O Lord, direct my steps;" and it was not until Elizabeth's reign that his character was traduced. This is how his fame is blackened by Godwin in his *Cat. Eng. Bps.*, p. 223 :—

"ELY. 30(th Bishop) James Stanley Doctor of Divinity Other good I find none reported of him but rather much evill: he was made bishop the yere 1506 and enjoyed that preferment eight yeres and a halfe of which time he spent very little or none at Ely but lived all the sommer time at Somersham keeping company much there with a certaine woman in very offensive manners and all the winter he would be with his brother in Darbyshire. So drowned in pleasures he passed his time without doing any one thing woorthy commendation or remembrance."

In Fuller's *Worthies*, 1840, vol. ii., p. 195, we read : "James Stanley D.D. brother of Thomas Earl of Derby was a man more memorable than commendable, who never resided at his own cathedral; I can partly excuse his living all the summer with the Earl his brother in Lancashire; but must condemn his living all the winter at his manor at Somersham in Huntingdonshire with one who was not his sister, and wanted nothing to make her his wife save marriage."

Palmer (*Foundations*, vol. ii., p. 322) relates an absurd story that he died excommunicate, and that to avoid the fulminations of the Vatican, his corpse was interred on the outside of a consecrated building, a chapel being afterwards erected to enclose his remains. This is proved to be false by the architecture of the chapel and the through-stones at the angles; and also by the foundation for a priest to say mass, which might not be done for one dying excommunicate.

Now the bishop must have been born somewhere about 1450. He is represented as an old, wrinkled man on his brass, and he died in 1515; this would make him about fifty-six when he was consecrated bishop in 1506.* Is it likely that John Stanley, his reputed son, was born when his father was fifty-seven? But this young John was the boy hero of Flodden, aged eighteen. If he was the result of a *liaison* at Somersham he could only have been between seven and eight years old, since Flodden was fought in 1513. Somersham was the principal manor of the bishops of Ely; this is what Camden says of it: "Turning aside from S. Ives scarce III miles wee saw *Somersham* a faire dwelling house of late dayes belonging to the Bishopes of Ely, which Earle Brithnot in the yeare 991 gave to Ely Church, and James Stanley, the lavish Bishop enlarged with new buildings."

The rector of Somersham, the Rev. A. V. Smith, very kindly informs me that no trace whatever of the bishop remains at Somersham in church or elsewhere; the palace has long since been destroyed, and only the garden wall remains to mark the spot, and a farmhouse now occupies the site of the building. Certainly our bishop built the house at Somersham, for here is the account given by Cole

* It is possible, but most improbable, that James Stanley was married; for about this time clerical wedlock was no very uncommon thing. Archbishop Warham, his contemporary, was said to have been married, and speaks about "*mea conjux.*"

MANTLE-PIECE. ERECTED BY BISHOP STANLEY AT SOMERSHAM. FROM A DRAWING BY COLE.

of the beautiful mantelpiece he had carved for it, and which Cole (MS. vol. xxix. 78B) gives a careful drawing of and the following description :—

"Passing thro Wilberton in the Isle of Ely Nov 19: 1759 I stopped at the Berry Sted, as it is called, being the Manor House belonging to the late Mr. Barlee of Clavering in Essex to see a curious old piece of carving on wood designed as I guess for the ornament of a mantel piece put up probably by Bp James Stanley at Somersham or some other of the Palaces of the Bps of Ely It came out of a very good brick house near the church in Wilberton which Mr. Barlee pulled down and I asked him for the carving which he gave to me but his tenant one Fanan a schoolmaster of Hadenham getting it into his custody for me by my desire and he removing to the Berry sted at Wilberton carried it with him and put it up there where it now remains, I not thinking it worth while to demand it." He goes on to describe it. "Stanley in gilt letters on a chimney piece at Somersham ☞ *Domine gressus meos dirige* (Lord, direct my steps). In the centre the arms of Thos. Stanley Earl of Derby, his father, enriched with garter—Quarterly with a crescent sable for difference, he being 3rd son of the Earl*—1 and 4 Stanley 2 and 3 Lathom† 2 and 3 Arms of Man and on a scocheon of pretence a Lion Rampant‡—In the four corners, Arms of Ely (3 crowns)—Arms of Man (triple leg)—Eagle and Child (crest of Stanley)—Buck Couchant (a Stanley badge). Filling up the remaining spaces—Eagles Claws erased (Stanley and Mounteagle badge)—Several initials of the Bishop's name I S—and on two Escallop

* Note there is no sable crescent on the drawing. James Stanley was sixth son of the earl.

† The whole description is wrong. It should be, Quarterly 1 and 4 Stanley family Coat (*i.e.* Quarterly 1 and 4 Stanley 2 Lathom 3 Warren ?) 2 and 3 Isle of Man.

‡ For his mother Nevill or stepmother Beaufort.

Shells S. I., probably for St. James. The mantelpiece is well carved, painted, and gilt, and in tolerable preservation considering its antiquity. It was sent to me at Milton near Cambridge by the Ely Boat this 20 April 1774 by Mr. Gotobed of Ely, steward of Mrs. Buckley, of or near Bungay, now Lady of the Manor, by her permission, and is now in an hermitage in my garden at Milton little Sumer house."

Sir John Stanley.

Let us next enquire who this young John Stanley, the reputed son of the bishop, was. There were living about this time six Sir John Stanleys who were certainly not sons of the bishop; these were (1) Sir John Stanley, who married Douce, daughter of Leigh, of Baggaley, first cousin to the bishop's grandfather. (2) Sir John Stanley, who died in 1509. (3) Sir John Stanley, called of Pipe. (4) Sir John Stanley, son of Sir Thomas Stanley, of Elford. (5) Sir John Stanley, third son of Thomas, first Baron Stanley, uncle to the bishop; he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thos. Wever. (6) Sir John Stanley, the son of the foregoing, is said to have married Elizabeth Harrington (I think possibly another generation comes in here) and afterwards Margaret Honfort. Whoever our man was, and we have no good evidence to show his descent, he was a married man before 1515, the date of the bishop's death; he married Margaret Honfort, the heiress of an illustrious race, whose mother was one of the Praers family. The Honfort arms were argent an estoile sable pierced of the field, and in the corners of the bishop's mantelpiece at Somersham you will see this charge. His arms are fully emblazoned both over the door of the Derby Chapel, and also in a stained glass panel in Cheadle Church, of which parish Honfort or Handforth is a hamlet. I give the carving in my illustration, wherein it will be seen that the shield which is empaled is, on the dexter side, very

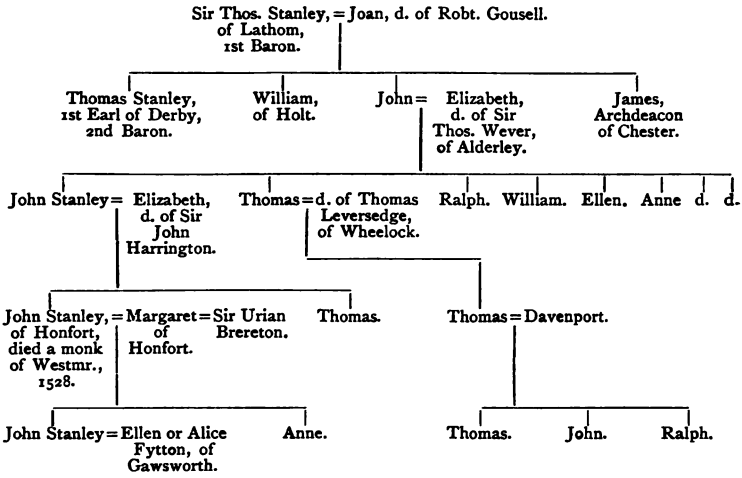
similar to Stanley. We have the same charge, three bucks' heads cabossed or, but on a chief azure instead of a bend, and instead of the field argent of Stanley we have the field or of Lathom, on which are now charged the three eagle's claws gules. On the glass at Cheadle which gives the tinctures, the chief is indented as in the Lathom coat, but the carver of the coat over the Derby Chapel door does not show this, the female side is in both the same, viz., quarterly, 1 and 4 Honfort old, argent a chevron between three mascles gules and 2 and 3 Honfort new, argent an estoile of 6 or 8 points sable. In addition to this coat of arms on the Derby Chapel door there is also the legend, *Vanitas vanitatum & ia (omnia) vanitas* (Vanity of vanities, all is vanity). This is also found at Cheadle. Besides these pious words, possibly the dying lament of a race-proud, yet not immoral, bishop, these touching words are to be seen in the Derby Chapel:

Obsecramus ut adjuvetis nos Jacobū Stanley Eliens Episc Johannē Stanley militē et Margaretā uxorē ej' ac parētes eoz in orationibus vestris apud dom̄ Jhesū Xpiū q̄ banc Capellā in ej' nomine Et in honore Sancti Johañis Baptiste Fabricaverūt An' incarnacionis illius M'CCCCC'XVJ'

Translation.—We beseech you that you help us James Stanley Bishop of Ely John Stanley knight and Margaret his wife and their parents in your prayers before the Lord Jesus Christ, who have built this chapel in his name and in honour of Saint John Baptist in the year of his incarnation 1516.

Now, would Sir John Stanley, knight, call attention to his parents in this inscription if one of them was unnameable and the other (the bishop) had been already named? But in the bishop's will the name of Sir John Stanley, knight, is coupled with Thomas Stanley, his brother, as the bishop's executors, but no mention is made there of their being his sons. This helps us, however, to put together the following

Suggested Pedigree of Stanley of Honfort.



All the authorities, in endeavouring to prove that this Sir John Stanley was the illegitimate son of Bishop Stanley, run into contradictory statements. One says Sir John Ireland, knight, married a daughter of Bishop Stanley;* another, Margaret, wife of Sir Henry Halsall, was daughter of Bishop Stanley;† while a third says Sir John Stanley, of Honfort, was base son and heir of John Stanley, brother of Thomas first Earl of Derby.‡ That he was base son of nobody is, I think, demonstrated by there being no bar or bend sinister charged with roses on his shield, the only suspicion to the contrary being a buck lodged reversée with a rose above it on the bishop's mantelpiece. The reversée may be purely a carver's mistake; the rose was a favourite badge at the time, both with Lancastrians and Yorkists.

* *Stanley Papers*, p. 151. † Baines, vol. iv., p. 262.
‡ *Stanley Papers*, p. 143.

Having mentioned Sir John Stanley as having been most likely the son or grandson of our bishop's uncle, let us continue his history before resuming that of the bishop. We are confronted with another difficulty, for this Sir John Stanley is said to have married twice — first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Harrington, of Hornby Castle,* by whom he had three daughters; secondly, Margaret Honfort; but Sir John Stanley, who built the Derby Chapel and married Margery Honfort, was eighteen in 1513, and his wife was a minor in 1516;† he could not, therefore, be a widower with three daughters. The probable explanation is, therefore, and one which will make the dates agree, that the father, John Stanley, married Elizabeth Harrington, and the son married Margaret Honfort; Margery had one son, John, who married Ellen Fytton, of Gawsworth, but they had no children and he died young, after being swindled out of the Honfort property by his mother's second husband, Sir Urian Brereton.

Next comes a curious story. We read in Lord Herbert's *History of King Henry VIII.*, p. 300: "The said Cardinal Wolsey did call before him Sir John Stanley which had taken a farm by convent seal of the Abbot and Convent of Chester for which he committed him for a year to the fleet until such time as he gave up the farm to one Leghe of Adlington which married one Lark's dau'r which woman the said Lord Cardinal kept and had with her two children. Whereupon the said Sir John Stanley upon displeasure taken in his heart made himself Monk in Westm^{r}, and there died." This appears true, for in 1527, on the 30th of June, Sir John Stanley made his will at Westminster, wherein he gives £4 to a priest to say daily mass at the altar of S. John, at Manchester, for the souls of James, sometime

* Ormerod's *Cheshire*, 2nd edit., iii. 641. † *Ibid.*

Bishop of Ely, Sir John Stanley, Dame Margery, his wife, and for William (of) Honfort, Ellen, and Anne.* William (Stanley ?), Ellen, and Anne were brother and sisters, also Ellen was his son's wife, and Anne was his daughter. He died shortly after a monk of Westminster, 1528, and his wife afterwards married Sir Urian Brereton, who swindled his stepson, young John Stanley, out of most of his inheritance at Honfort. He died young and childless before his mother.

By an indenture with the abbot of Westminster, the names of all the family were enrolled in the Dyptichs to be prayed for perpetually, and an obit and chantry were endowed at Westminster.

To return to the bishop. Soon after he became Diocesan of Ely, he began to take great interest in Jesus College, Cambridge. He compiled statutes for it, endowed it with the rectory of Great Shelford, and added a grammar school, with master and usher, to the foundation; all this he got confirmed by a papal bull of prevision.† Moreover, he added a professorship to the University of Cambridge, which still exists, and in the second year of King Henry VIII., 1510, by an indenture between James Stanley and the executors of the Countess of Richmond (his stepmother), he agreed to give them the house or priory of S. John, in Cambridge, in order to found the present college of that name, of which he became second founder. To found two colleges and a professorship and build an episcopal palace in four years does not seem like an idle sensualist. Nor was he less mindful of hospitality, as the metrical account of him shows; and when his loyalty and patriotism were called in question, he re-

* From a paper read by William Beamont, before the Royal Archæological Institute, at Lancaster, July, 1868.

† *Memorials of Cambridge*, Wright and Jones, i. 6; Cooper's *Athen. Cantab.*; and Raines' *Wardens of Manchester*, i. 37.

sponded at once. The Earl of Surrey, at Pontefract, sent to the bishop, in 1513, to raise Lancashire for the king. Being at Lathom or Manchester at the time, and known to be a capable man, he soon had fourteen thousand men equipped for battle, led by his brother Edward, afterwards first Lord Monteagle—a name given him for charging up Cheviot side, his men shouting "Mount Eagle," in allusion to his crest—and with his nephew, or cousin (as I think him), young John Stanley, who was knighted on Flodden Field, by his side.

We can well understand that the Derby Chapel should be built as a special thank-offering for this victory, and we can believe that the bishop and the youthful knight, with his child wife and their parents, brothers, and sisters, would all join in this scheme. I believe that they began at the west and worked towards the east, taking out the choir aisle windows as they made the arches, and inserting them in the new wall. This occupied about two years, and meanwhile the great bishop died; they then built out a little chantry, which we now call the Ely Chapel, and buried him in its entrance. But besides the Derby Chapel, in 1513 the bishop commenced another great and glorious work for the cathedral; he built the entire stalls on the south side of the choir, fifteen in number, and enriched them with countless niches, brackets, finials, and buttresses; most lavishly are the misereres, bench ends, poppy heads, and arms of the seats carved. The Lathom legend is found repeated three times, the legs of Man find a place, and most curious is the carving on the stall arm next his own of a very clever jester's face in the motley, because of the following. In 1495, just eighteen years before, Henry VII. chopped off our bishop's uncle William's head for no other reason than that he was a very rich man and had been said to favour Perkin Warbeck. In the same year the avaricious old king came down into Lan-

cashire to visit his mother and stepfather, Thomas Stanley first Earl of Derby, brother of the murdered William; and having passed through Manchester and Winwick, where he was entertained by his stepbrother, James Stanley, our warden; the king passed over the new bridge at Warrington, which the earl had built in his honour, and came to Lathom. Here he so admired the prospect that he asked Thomas, the earl, to let him view the estuary of the Mersey from the leads. They were standing by the parapet, talking, when the family jester, or fool, slipped up to the earl and whispered, pointing downwards, "Tom, remember Will;" but the king heard, and beat a rapid retreat. Is it too much to believe that our illustrious warden immortalised that jester upon the arm of his stall?

But the sands of life were running low; the bishop never saw his stalls finished, for, begun after Flodden, in 1513, they were not finished till 1520, five years after the bishop had been laid to rest. In the chapel of his foundation were these words, which he had graven on the glass of the windows:

"Parati novissima"

("Prepare for your latter end"); here also were the words, over the door of his chapel, "All is vanity." The words of his epitaph, than which few are more solemn, occur in the description of his tomb and brass. These are the terms of his will, proved at Canterbury, 23rd May, 1515, two months after his death:—

"James Stanley, by the sufferance of our Lord God Bishop of Ely 20th March 1514 (? 5.) My body to be buried in a new chapel in my Cathedral Church of Ely, or else in my new Chapel now in building at Manchester. I will that the Chapel be made for me to be buried and rest my bones in at the East end of my Cathedral Church, for the which I will 100 marks to be bestowed upon walls, iron work, glass,

and covering, besides my tomb, on which tomb I will 40 marks be bestowed by the advice of Master Alday, Sir Ranulph Pole, and Sir John Claydon, my receiver: I give and bequeath to remain in the said Chapel a chalice gilt &c. I will that another chapel be builded and made at Manchester on the north side of the Church, betwixt S. James' Chapel and the east end of the same Church with a tomb therein for me, by advice of Master Alday, Master Warden of Manchester with £20 a year for finding two priests to sing in my said chapel: to Dr. Standishe xl^{s}: I will that Sir John Stanley knight, Thomas Stanley his brother, William Serjaunt and Alexander Tyldesley be my executors." (Vide *Vetusta Monumenta*, p. 535; and Lansdowne MS.)

As I have said, the Elizabethan divines blackened his memory. That he was a proud prelate there is little doubt; he was proud of his race, his office, and his power. He was "the tallest man in broad England," we are told, some six feet seven inches, and, indeed, his chasuble looks far too short for him. He died on the 22nd day of March, 1515, and this is how Thomas, Bishop of Sodor and Man, son of Lord Monteagle, wrote of him:—

> His third [should be sixth] sonne was James a goodlye man, a priest
> Yet little priests mettle was in him, by Christ
> . . . . . .
> A goodlie tall man as was in all England
> And sped well all matters that he took in hand
> King Harrye the VIIth a prynce noble and sage
> Made him Bishop for wisdom and Parentage
> Of Ely. Many a day was he bishopp there
> He builded Sommersome the byshoppe's chief manner
> A great vyander as any in his days
> For Byshoppes that then was, this is no dispraise.
> Because he was a priest I dare do no lesse
> But telle, as I know not, of his hardiness
> What proud priest hath a blowe on the ear sodenlye
> Turneth the other ear likewise for humilitye
> He could not so do by the crosse in my purse
> Yet I trust his soule fareth never the worse.

He did end his life in merry Manchester
And right honorablye lieth he buried there
In his chapel, which he began of freestone
Sir John Stanley built it out when he was gone
God send his soule to the heavenlye companye
Farewell godlye James Byshopp of Elye.

"Ancient Metrical History of the House of Stanley,"
see Halliwell's *Palatine Anthology.*

The following was written by an unknown author about the time of his death :—

That was a bishop full bolde
that borne was at Lathum
Of Eley that ilke Lorde
that epe was of deedes !
An egg of that bolde erle
that named was Standley
Nere of nature to the duke
that noble have bene ever
But now death with his dart
hath driven him awaye
It is a losse to the lande,
Our Lord have his soule !
For his witte and his wisdome
and his wale deedes
He was a piller of peace
the people amonge ;
His servauntes they maie syke
and sorowe for his sake
What for pitie & for paine
my pen dothe me fayle

The Scottish Field, written about 1515,
see *Chetham Miscellanies*, vol. ii.

LIST OF THE WRITINGS OF W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

BY THOMAS FORMBY AND ERNEST AXON.

WILLIAM THOMPSON WATKIN was the son of John Watkin, of Salford, and his wife Mary Hamilton, daughter of Benjamin Brierley. He was born at Salford, on 15th October, 1836, and baptised at Christ Church, in that town. His father died in 1848, aged forty, but his mother survived until 1883. As a youth and for many years Mr. Watkin was engaged in a commercial house in Liverpool. He died at 55, Prescot Street, Liverpool, on 23rd March, 1888, and was buried at Anfield Cemetery. He was three times married. He left a widow and several children.

The following list, to which many additions are now made, was first printed in the *Manchester City News*, 26th May, 1888.

1871.

On the tenth Iter of the British portion of the Itinerary of Antoninus and some of the Notitia Stations in the North of England. *Archæological Journal*, xxviii. 109-132.

1873.

On the Site of "Mediolanum," and the portion of the tenth Iter of Antoninus, South of Manchester. *Archæological Journal*, xxx. 153-173.

The Roman Forces in Britain. *London and Middlesex Archæological Society*, pp. 20.

1874.

On some Forgotten or Neglected Roman Inscriptions found in Britain. *Archæological Journal*, xxxi. 344-359.

1875.

Roman Inscriptions at Manchester. *Local Gleanings*, i. 10.
Roman Altars, &c., in Manchester. *Ibid.*, i. 56.

1876.

On some inedited Discoveries of Roman Remains in Lancashire and Cheshire. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, xxviii. 69-76.
Roman Lancaster. *Ibid.*, xxviii. 95-120.
On the Identification of the Roman Stations, "Navio" and "Aquae," with Remarks upon other Roman Stations in Derbyshire. *Archæological Journal*, xxxiii. 49-55.
On a "Tabula Honestæ Missionis," found at Bath, and some other neglected Britanno Roman Inscriptions. *Ibid.*, xxxiii. 250-270.
On some recently discovered Britanno-Roman Inscriptions. *Ibid.*, xxxiii. 342-367.
Roman Remains at Wigan. *Local Gleanings*, i. 270.

1877.

The Roman Station at Wilderspool, near Warrington: A Reply to Mr. Beamont's recent Pamphlet. Reprinted from "Local Gleanings" in the *Manchester Courier*. By W. Thompson Watkin. Manchester: T. Sowler and Co., Printers, 24, Cannon Street. 1877. 8vo, pp. 12. From *Local Gleanings*, ii. 99-101, 102-103.
On the Roman Inscriptions at Colchester. *Archæological Journal*, xxxiv. 76-82.
Discovery of a Roman *castrum* at Templeborough. *Ibid.*, xxxiv. 100-102.
Britanno-Roman Inscriptions discovered in 1876. *Ibid.*, xxxiv. 130-148.
Roman Herefordshire. *Ibid.*, xxxiv. 349-372.
Old Roman Inscription at Risingham. *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, viii. 74.
Roman Remains in Lancashire. *Local Gleanings*, ii. 23.

1878.

Roman Ribchester. *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, xxx. 1-26.
On the Roman Stations "Burrium," "Gobannium," and "Bletsum," of the twelfth and thirteenth Iters of Antoninus. *Archæological Journal*, xxxv. 19-43.
On Britanno Roman Inscriptions found in 1877. *Ibid.*, xxxv. 63-79.
Some Additions to Professor Hübner's List of Roman Potters' Marks discovered in Britain. *Ibid.*, xxxv. 289-294.
The Roman Station at Caergwrle. *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, xxxiv. 431-435.
The MSS. of Dr. Bennett, Bishop of Cloyne. *Notes and Queries*, 5th series, ix. 48.

1879.

Roman Shropshire. *Trans. of the Shropshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, ii. 317-363.
Roman Manchester. *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, xxxi. 13-32.

Roman Inscriptions in Northamptonshire. *Arch. Journal*, xxxvi. 93-94.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1878. *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 154-168.
The Origin of the name Northampton. *Ibid.*, xxxvi. 211-212.
The Re-discovered Roman Inscription from Bowness. *Arch. Journal*, xxxvi. 422-424, and *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, iv. 530-533.
Rev. W. H. Bathurst's *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. Arch. Journal*, xxxvi. 419-421.

1880.

The Minor Roman Stations of Lancashire; also the Camps and Miscellaneous Discoveries in the County. *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, xxxii. 67-90.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1879. *Arch. Journal*, xxxvii. 136-154.
Recent Roman Discoveries at Maryport, Beckfoot, and Cirencester. *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 320-322.
On the Site of Tunnocelum. *Ibid.*, xxxvii. 341-343.

1881.

The Roman Roads of Lancashire. Part i. *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Ches.*, xxxiii. 195-222.
Roman Inscriptions found at Brough-under-Stanemore. *Trans. of the Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc.*, v. 285-290.
Supplementary Notes on the Roman Forces in Britain. *Trans. of the Lond. and Middlesex Arch. Soc.*, v. 527-532.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1880. *Arch. Journal*, xxxviii. 277-301.
The Roman Legion in Manchester. *Palatine Note-book*, i. 14-15.
The "Wall Field," Nantwich. *Ibid.*, i. 183.

1882.

Roman Bedfordshire. *Arch. Journal*, xxxix. 257-290.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1881, with Notes on another found at Binchester. *Ibid.*, xxxix. 355-377.
Mediolanum. *Palatine Note-book*, ii. 61-2.

1883.

Roman Lancashire; or, a Description of Roman Remains in the County Palatine of Lancaster. By W. Thompson Watkin. Liverpool: Printed for the Author. MDCCCLXXXIII. 4to, pp. viii, 256.7.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1882. *Arch. Journal*, xl. 135-142.
Notes on the Roman Station "Petriana," or "Petrianæ," named in the Notitia: and the evidence as to Hexham being its probable Site. *Ibid.*, xl. 235-237.
Roman Remains at Manchester. *Palatine Note-book*, iii. 98-99.
Roman Coins found near Fleetwood. *Ibid.*, iii. 170-171, 200.
Roman Inscription found in Carnarvonshire. *Academy*, March 3rd, p. 157.

Recent Discovery of Roman Remains at Chester. *Ibid.*, May 5th, p. 318.
Scarth's Roman Britain. *Ibid.*, September 15th, p. 172.
The Roman Milestone at Llanfairfechan. *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, viii. 53, 274.

1884.

The Roman Milestone at Middleton. *Trans. of the Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, vii. 109-110.
Autels Romains decouvert a Housesteads (Angleterre). pp. 2.
Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1883. *Arch. Journal*, xli. 173-188.
Discoveries of Roman Remains in Lancashire and Rutlandshire. *Ibid.*, xli. 218-219.
The Roman Forces in Britain. *Ibid.*, xli. 244-271.
The Roman Station at Borrowbridge. *Academy*, February 2nd, p. 85.
Roman Inscriptions lately found on the Wall of Hadrian. *Ibid.*, August 23rd, p. 128.
The "Roman" Inscription at Brough. *Ibid.*, September 6th, p. 158.
The Romans in Pembrokeshire. *Ibid.*, September 13th, p. 173.
Stukeley's Memoirs. *Ibid.*, October 4th, p. 223.
An Inedited Britanno-Roman Inscription of the Reign of Trajan. *Ibid.*, November 1st, p. 294.
Roman Inscriptions recently discovered at Chester, Ilkley, and on the Roman Wall. *Ibid.*, Nov. 29th, p. 363.
Roman Remains in Lancashire. *Palatine Note-book*, iv. 133-134, 151-152, 177-178, 200-201.

1885.

Roman Stations of Derbyshire. *Journal of Derbyshire Archæological Society*, vii.
Excavations in the Deanery Field, Chester. *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, ii. 33-38.
Further Notes on the recent Find of Roman Coins at Ulnes Walton. *Ibid.*, ii. 87-91.
Remarks upon Groups of Roman Milestones. *Archæologia Ælinia*, x. 130-132.
On the discovery of Roman Inscribed Altars, &c., at Housesteads, November, 1883. *Ibid.*, x. 150-155.
Roman Inscriptions found in Britain in 1884. *Arch. Journal*, xlii. 141-158.
Discoveries of a Roman Inscription near Bala. *Ibid.*, xlii. p. 386.
Traces of a Roman Fire Brigade at Chester. *Academy*, January 17th, p. 52, January 24th, p. 70.
Roman Milestone discovered in Yorkshire [Castleford]. *Ibid.*, February 28th, p. 158.
Roman Inscriptions in North Wales and Carlisle. *Ibid.*, April 4th, p. 249.
The Tuihanti. *Ibid.*, April 18th, p. 283.
A Roman Inscription discovered at Jedburgh. *Ibid.*, May 16th, p. 354.
Active Volcanoes in Britain. *Ibid.*, June 20th, p. 441.
Roman Centurial Stone at Chester. *Ibid.*, August 1st, p. 77.
Roman Milestones in Northumberland. *Ibid.*, August 15th, p. 110.

The Proposed Exploration of Caerleon and Caerwent. *Ibid.*, September 26th, p. 211.

Roman Inscriptions at Whitley Castle and South Shields. *Ibid.*, November 7th, p. 313.

1886.

Roman Cheshire; or, a Description of Roman Remains in the County of Chester. By W. Thompson Watkin. Liverpool: Printed for the Author. MDCCCLXXXVI. 4to, pp. vii, 327.8.

The Roman Minor Settlements, Camps, Discoveries of Coins, and Roads in Derbyshire. *Journal of Derbyshire Archæological Society*, viii.

Roman Tombstone found at Ilkley. *Yorkshire Archæological and Topographical Journal*, ix. 127-8.

Roman Inscriptions at Cliburn and Birdoswald. *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, pp. 284-293.

Roman Nottinghamshire. *Arch. Journal*, xliii. 11-44.

Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1885. *Ibid.*, xliii. 275-289.

Discoveries of Roman Remains at Chester. *Academy*, June 19th, p. 440, June 26th, p. 459.

Some Recently-discovered Roman Inscriptions. *Ibid.*, October 30th, p. 299.

1887.

On some recent [1884] Discoveries of Roman Remains in Lancashire and Cheshire. *Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, xxxvi. 1-14.

Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains at Chester. *Trans. Lanc. and Ches. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 365-367.

On Inscriptions at Cliburn, &c. *Archæologia Æliana*, xii. 290-291.

On an Altar from Chester-le-Street. *Ibid.*, xii. 292-294.

Further Notes on the Roman Inscriptions at Powys Castle. *Powys Land Club.*

Roman Inscriptions discovered in Britain in 1886. *Arch. Journal*, xliv. 117-128.

Was Ireland ever Invaded by the Romans? *Ibid.*, xliv. 289-293.

Supplementary Notes on the Roman Forces in Britain. *Ibid.*, xliv. 375-379.

Morgan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements. Arch. Journal*, xliv. 205-208.

Recent Roman Discoveries in Britain. *Reliquary*, i. n.s., 105-109, 176-178, 232-235.

A Forged Roman Inscription. *Academy*, January 22nd, p. 66.

Another Forged Roman Inscription. *Ibid.*, February 5th, p. 99.

Roman Altar found at South Shields. *Ibid.*, May 7th, p. 332.

Roman (?) Pavement recently found in London. *Ibid.*, August 13th, p. 109.

Excavations at Chester. *Ibid.*, August 20th, p. 126.

Roman Inscription found at Chester. *Ibid.*, September 3rd, p. 155.

Roman Inscriptions, &c., at Chester. *Ibid.*, September 17th, p. 191.

Roman Inscriptions at Chester and the Age of the Walls. *Ibid.*, September 24th, p. 209.

Roman Inscriptions at Chester. *Ibid.*, October 1, p. 225, October 8th, p. 243, December 17th, p. 412.

The Age of the Walls of Chester. *Ibid.*, October 22nd, p. 274, December 3rd, p. 379.

Gomme's *Romano-British Remains.* *Ibid.*, October 29th, p. 292.

The Walls of Chester. *Ibid.*, December 31st, p. 448.

1888.

The Roman Altar found at Chester in 1648. *Journal of Chester Archæological Society*, vol. i., n.s., 157-158.

Remarks on some Inscriptions found in the Roman Wall. *Archæologia Æliana*, xiii. 190-192.

Roman Remains at Little Chester. pp. 5.

Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains in Britain. *Reliquary*, n.s., ii. 26-29.

Sculptured and Inscribed Stones found during recent Excavations at Chester. *Ibid.*, n.s., ii. 38-42.

The Roman Inscriptions discovered at Chester, during the first Repairs to the North Wall, in 1887. Earwaker's *Roman Remains in Chester*, pp. 11-24.

Views on the Age of the Walls of Chester. *Ibid.*, pp. 66-72.

Roman Inscriptions found in Britain in 1887. *Arch. Journal*, xlv. 167-186.

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 20th, 1888.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE fifth Annual Meeting was held at Chetham's Library, Mr. Charles W. Sutton in the chair.

The Honorary Secretary read the Annual Report of the Council (see vol. v., page 355), and the Treasurer submitted his Statement of Accounts (vol. v., p. 359), both of which were passed.

The following gentlemen were then elected members of the Council:—

President:

The Right Hon. the EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Right Hon. the LORD EGERTON OF TATTON, F.S.A.
Professor W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Principal J. G. GREENWOOD, LL.D.
WM. E. A. AXON, F.R.S.L.

Of the Council:

J. E. BAILEY, F.S.A.
C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.
J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE ESDAILE.
GILBERT J. FRENCH.
NATHAN HEYWOOD.
ROBERT LANGTON, F.R.H.S.
The Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
Dr. H. COLLEY MARCH,
ALBERT NICHOLSON.
J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.
GEORGE PEARSON.
Rev. J. H. STANNING, M.A.
CHARLES W. SUTTON.

Treasurer: W. A. COPINGER, F.S.A.

Honorary Secretary: GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A.

A special vote of thanks to the Honorary Secretary concluded the proceedings.

Friday, February 3rd, 1888.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library, Mr. W. E. A. Axon in the chair.

Exhibits.—Mr. Thomas Oxley, a very fine bronze leaf-shaped sword, found at Dam-head, Fyvie, Aberdeen. Mr. W. Wareing Faulder, a polished stone celt, found in the sandhills between Blackpool and Lytham. Mr. A. Taylor, a coin of Emanuel de Rohan, 1796; and a spindle whorl, found in Wales. Rev. T. Boston Johnstone, a MS. book of offices, executed for some diocese in South Flanders, probably Liege or Mons, dating about 1430.

Mr. George C. Yates exhibited an old tinder-box, flint and steel, and a bundle of brimstone matches; an old Scotch "cruise" (or iron lamp); also a photograph of "strike-a-lights," obtained from an old man in Malaga, who made them for stock or to pattern as people required them. In connection with the above, Mr. Yates made the following remarks:—As to the art of producing fire, the savage way was mostly by the friction of two pieces of wood, and to this day travellers may now and then see the simple apparatus at work. The hand fire-drill consists of a stick like an arrow shaft cut to a blunt point, which is twirled between the hand at such speed and pressure as to bore a hole into an under-piece of wood till the charred dust made by the boring takes fire. The Polynesian way is different, pushing the pointed stick along a groove of its own making in the under-piece of wood. Either method will make fire in a few minutes, but knack and proper choice of wood are needed. For easier working, some nations have long had a mechanical improvement on the simple savage fire-drill, by driving it with a thong wound a couple of turns round the stick and pulled to and fro; also working it with a bow, like

the common bow-drill of our workshops, is not unknown. In either case a top-piece is required to keep the drill down on its bearing. Among civilised nations, the old fire-drill had in ancient times been superseded in common use by better contrivances, especially the flint and steel. But although discarded from practical life, it has been kept up for ceremonial purposes. The Brahmins may be still seen "churning" with a fire-drill driven by a hair-cord the pure divine fire for their sacrifices, thus religiously keeping to the old-fashioned instrument used in daily life by the early Aryans. The ancient Romans had such a survival of their past state of arts in the law, that if the vestal virgins let out the sacred fire it was to be made afresh by drilling into a wooden board. The old art has even lasted on in Europe to our own day as the orthodox means of kindling the "need-fire," with which, when there was a murrain, the peasants in many parts used to light bonfires to drive the horses and cattle through to save them from the pestilence. This rite, inherited from the religion of pre-Christian times, requires new wild-fire made by friction, not the tame fire of the hearth. The last need-fire on record in Great Britain is perhaps one that was made in Perth in 1826, but it may still be seen in Sweden and elsewhere when there is cholera or other pestilence about. In the last century there was a law passed forbidding the superstitious friction fire in Jonkoping, the very district now famous for its cheap "tandstickor" or tinder-sticks—that is, lucifer matches. The fire-drill is a means of converting mechanical force into heat till the burning point of wood is reached. But all that is really wanted is a glowing hot particle or spark, and this can be more easily got in other ways. Breaking a nodule of iron-pyrites picked up on the sea shore, and with a bit of flint striking sparks from it on tinder is a way of fire-making quite superior to the use of the wooden drill. It was known to some modern savages; to the pre-historic men of Europe, as appears from the lists of pyrites found in their caves; and of course to the old civilised world. Substitute for this

a piece of iron, and we have the flint and steel, the ordinary apparatus of nations from their entry into the iron age till modern times.

Mr. Robert Langton read a short paper by Mr. E. W. Bulkeley, upon the Execution of John Hewitt, D.D., of Eccles. Mr. Bulkeley's paper, which was a resumé of Mr. J. P. Earwaker's researches upon this subject, gave a short sketch of Dr. Hewitt's life, and detailed the chief features of that divine's execution.

Mr. J. P. Earwaker gave a description of the books and pamphlets relating to the divine, and said that for them the chief point of interest relating to Dr. Hewitt was that he was born at Eccles. Curiously enough it had been stated in a great many biographical dictionaries that he was born in the county of Norfolk, but up to that time he had been unable to account for the origin of the story. He had searched the registers at Eccles, and had found that the baptism of Hewitt took place in that place on the 4th of September, 1614, so that to his mind there could be no doubt that Dr. Hewitt was a Lancashire man.

Mr. Samuel Andrew read a paper on some Oldham Provincialisms. He thought that, as a means of preserving historical lore, they often found that provincialisms were interesting and reliable. There was a saying in Oldham, perhaps not so common now as it used to be, which compared persons who were guilty of some mean or despicable thing, "to one of the seven that came from Royton." He remembered even as a boy, that when children were playing at "taw" or any other game, and one of the number had taken advantage of the rest, it was no uncommon thing to hear the exclamation: "Oh, he's like one of th' seven ut coom fro Royton!" Even in recent times the phrase was sometimes used; and some people assume that the seven alluded to were seven thieves who once lived at Royton. Others suppose it to refer to seven remarkable characters, either in the way of oddity or excellence. Only the other day he heard the expression in the following conversation in a

public institution in Royton: "Halloa! Mesthur," said one man to another whom he had not seen for some years, "are you com'd a living at Royton?" "Ay," said the man, by way of a joke, "I yeard ut one o' t' seven were dead, and I coom here to tak' his place." Sometimes they heard the expression used in Oldham, and applied to people from Royton: "O! thou art one o' t' seven, thou comes o'er th' edge," meaning Oldham Edge, which lies between Oldham and Royton. The expression, he thought, had probably been in use since the Commonwealth, arising from the fact that Lord Byron (the owner of Royton Hall) was one of seven who, under the Act passed on the death of Charles I., were specially exempted from its clemency. The frequency of the name "gate" or "yate," applied to a road, was very common in Oldham. In no case that he knew of did "gate," so used, mean gate in its modern sense. Among the thoroughfares having the appendage of "gate" was one "Menegate," which was mentioned in one of the old deeds within the deed chest of Prestwich Church, dating from about the end of the thirteenth century. Where "Menegate" was he was unable then to say, but it was evidently the boundary to an estate, and probably was a common walk or pasture for cattle. The word "melch," used in Oldham as a provincialism, was, he considered, worthy of comment. The word occurred in the *Annals of Oldham*, under the date of December 7th, 1808, in the following manner: "Uncommon fine weather and has been so for some time. It is so warm that it much resembles a fine spring, and is so melch that a deal of flowers are in bloom." It was a genuine Oldham word, and he had often heard it used by old people in describing a fine spring morning, conconveying the idea of mild, balmy, or, perhaps, milky. The words "wottial" or perhaps "wottyhole" and "cheddle-swinger" had also been used for a long time among the Oldham people, the latter word being a term applied to a fustian coat, and the former signifying a thin, iron spindle, reddened in the fire, used for boring holes. Among nicknames

he could only mention a few, among which were Jockey o' Shops, Nell o' Flutes, Foomurt Joss, Mat o' Kepels, Ab o'th Crag, Betty o' Red Hannah's, Jammy o' Cawfnuts, Mal o'th Durstep, Jammy o'th Bunkers, Nan o' Muds, King o' Poland, Owd Nur, and, above all, Do-dy aboon Onny. This last term of endearment was evidently given by some loving mother to her child, or perhaps by some sweetheart to her intended. Joseph, which means "Dody" in the vernacular, was evidently a Yorkshireman, who was known as "aboon Onny" because he possessed qualities of a superior nature to those around him, the nickname meaning "Joseph above any." Thus all nicknames had some reasonable cause for existence, though they were often looked upon by what was called refined society as vulgarities.

A short discussion followed, in which Messrs. Robert Langton, A. Nicholson, C. W. Sutton, and the Rev. T. Boston Johnstone took part. Some of the speakers referred to the word "cheddle-swinger" as being in common use in various parts of the county, as referring to a fustian jacket or a gamekeeper's coat. Mr. Nicholson thought that the name "gate," as applied to a road, came from the fact of there having previously been gates across the roads.

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper upon the Geographical Origin of the Romans serving in Britain (see p. 27). In the course of this paper he suggested a new reading of the inscription on the Roman altar discovered at Boughton, near Chester, which in his opinion should read "Genio Narverni," instead of the generally accepted "Genio Averni."

In the short discussion which followed, Mr. Earwaker said that Mr. Esdaile's suggested reading of the altar inscription was quite new to him.

The Chairman said that he also could not accept Mr. Esdaile's new reading. He had seen the altar, and had seen many engravings of it, and he was quite content with the old reading, which he did not see any reason for altering. The Lake of Avernus was a place which might have a *genus loci* as well as any other. He should be strongly disposed

to adhere to the accepted reading, which had stood the test of a good many years, until some further evidence was forthcoming, especially as there was nothing uncommon in the nature of the dedication. He doubted how far the names of the Roman legions afforded geographical data, and, judging from the experience of modern armies, he should say that the information they conveyed was very small, and not greatly to be relied upon.

Mr. Esdaile, in reply, said he was quite satisfied with the reading he had given of the inscription.

Friday, March 2nd, 1888.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library. The Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A., presided.

Exhibits.—Mr. George C. Yates, stone celts, &c., from Sweden; mediæval relics found at Lincoln, consisting of spoons, a signet ring, and bronze ornaments. Mr. T. Oxley, late bronze spear head, from Coleraine, Ireland. Mr. A. Nicholson, siege piece of Tourney, 1709. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman, some interesting old deeds. Mr. W. Harrison, legal documents, bearing the signatures of Lady Penelope Cholmondeley, Sir Francis Drake, and Hugh first Duke of Northumberland.

Mr. Nathan Heywood sent a short communication upon the Cup and Ring Stones found on the Panorama Rocks, near Rombald's Moor, Ilkley (see p. 127).

Mr. H. H. Sales, commenting upon Mr. Heywood's paper, said the view there put forth was entirely different to that held by many antiquaries. They were regarded by the majority of persons competent to speak upon the matter as being connected with serpent worship.

Mr. Robert Langton read a paper on an Obscure Funeral Custom (see p. 58).

Messrs. Norbury, T. Oxley, John Owen, and the Chairman joined in a short discussion.

The next paper upon Wenlock Priory, Shropshire, contributed by Mr. T. Locke Worthington, and read by Mr. Edgar Worthington, dealt in an interesting manner with that characteristic example of the early English style of architecture. The paper was illustrated by a series of drawings of the chief features of the priory.

The meeting was then resolved into a special business meeting of the Society for the purpose of considering the following resolution, which was moved by Mr. C. F. Pyke, and seconded by Mr. Oxley:—"That rule 6 be altered to read as follows: 'An annual subscription of one guinea shall be paid by each member.'" After considerable discussion, the resolution was negatived by a large majority.

Friday, April 6th, 1888.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library. Mr. W. E. A. Axon presided.

A vote of condolence with the widow and family of the late Mr. W. Thompson Watkin, a member of the Society and one of its council, was passed.

Mr. William Harrison exhibited an abstract of the will of Sir Richard Arkwright, the reputed inventor of the spinning jenny, interesting as throwing light on his treatment of his wife. In Guest's *History of the Cotton Manufacture* it is stated that about 1779 Arkwright separated from his wife, and that for some years afterwards she lived entirely upon her own means, and that even when he had accumulated a large fortune he allowed her no more than £30 a year. Mr. Espinasse, in his biography of Arkwright in *Lancashire Worthies*, commenting upon this, observes: "It has been said that Arkwright left his wife £500 a year—a statement with which, if true, Mr. Guest's is scarcely reconcilable. In any case it would be desirable to verify it. The writer had

searches made both in the Lichfield and the London registry, but no trace of any will of Arkwright's was to be discovered in either." From the abstract produced by Mr. Harrison it appeared that the will was proved at Canterbury, in September, 1792, and that it did contain a bequest to the widow of an annuity of £500 which the testator charged upon all his property, real and personal. Whatever, therefore, may be the truth in regard to Arkwright's treatment of his wife in his lifetime, it is clear that he made ample provision for her after his death.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read a paper upon the Moravians in Lancashire and Cheshire, in which he gave a history of that sect or church in this district, and referred to their numerous meeting-houses in the two counties. He also described the establishments of Moravians at Fairfield and Dukinfield, and the various meeting-houses in Manchester, one of which he said was in Fetter Lane, established in 1777.

In the discussion, Messrs. Sales, Esdaile, Norbury, and Churchill, and the Chairman took part.

The paper of the evening, Notes on the Booksellers and Stationers in Manchester before 1700, by Mr. J. P. Earwaker, was, in the absence of the author, read by Mr. C. W. Sutton (see p. 1). The paper was illustrated by a valuable and interesting exhibition of rare books, pamphlets, and sermons, printed "for" or "by" Manchester booksellers, chiefly in the seventeenth century.

Mr. J. E. Tinkler produced the Purchase Book of the Chetham Library, from which he read numerous references to Manchester booksellers in the period mentioned by Mr. Earwaker.

The Chairman said Mr. Earwaker's paper was an interesting contribution to our local bibliography. He did not, of course, mention the first introduction of printing into Manchester, which was a little earlier than the seventeenth century, in 1588, thus making the present year the tercentenary of Manchester typography. The first printing press

was, as they all knew, the Marprelate press, which was seized by the Earl of Derby, in Newton Lane, in February, 1588.

The following communication, by Mr. W. H. Heathcote, on Recent Discoveries in the Ribble Valley, was read:— Since writing my first note on the above (vol. v., p. 342), many interesting objects have been found. One of the last of these, an ancient canoe or "dug-out," was found on March 6th, 1888, on the Preston dock excavations. When discovered it was laid flat on the surface of the rock, at a depth of thirteen feet from the surface of the ground, quarter of a mile east by south of Penwortham Church. This boat, unlike the one discovered on October 7th, 1887, is in an excellent state of preservation and quite perfect. Its dimensions are as follows: length over all, 7ft. 8½in.; greatest width, 2ft. 8in.; width at stern, 2ft. 2in.; depth, 1ft. 2¼in.; bottom, 1¼in. thick in the centre; and 4½in. thick at the stern. There is a stern board 4½in. thick fitted in 3in. from the end of the boat. At 4in. from the bow there is an irregular-shaped hole for a rope for mooring or dragging purposes. The sides of the boat are somewhat irregular in thickness, averaging 1½in. at the gunwale, and increasing to 3in. at a short distance down. The bottom is flat to within 2ft. from each end; the stern end gradually rises to 3in. from the level. The workmanship throughout is very rude and the lines coarse; nothing near so fine as the first boat, as will be seen by the sketches. From this fact alone, I should say this second boat is of much earlier construction than the first. It has evidently belonged to the same tribe as the other one, both having been found within a comparatively short distance of each other. In my last communication I mentioned a pair of antlers of the red deer, with twenty-four points. There has been another pair found bearing the extraordinary number of twenty-eight points. There is also a very remarkable pair of which I send a photograph. As far as I can ascertain, this is the only pair recorded which has the curious drooping branches at the back. It gives the antlers a very singular appearance. The number of human

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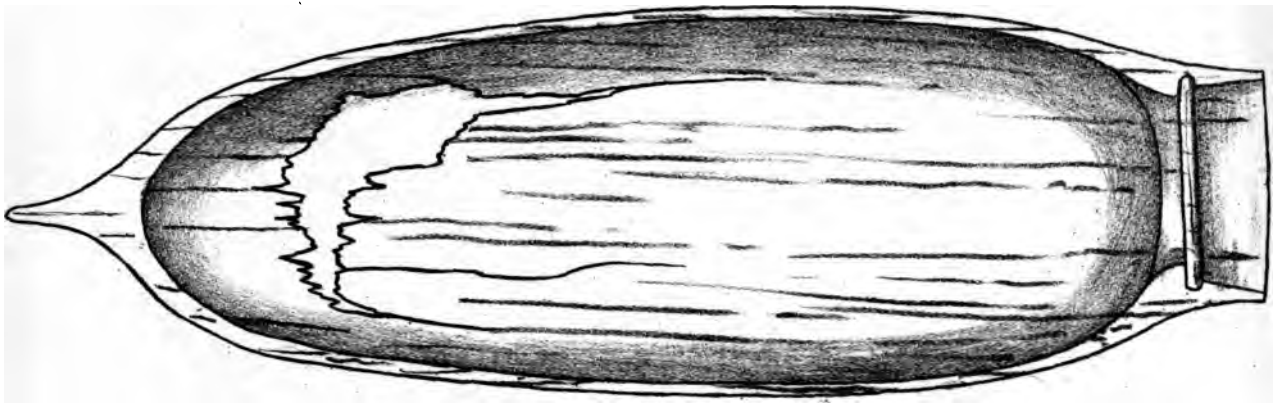
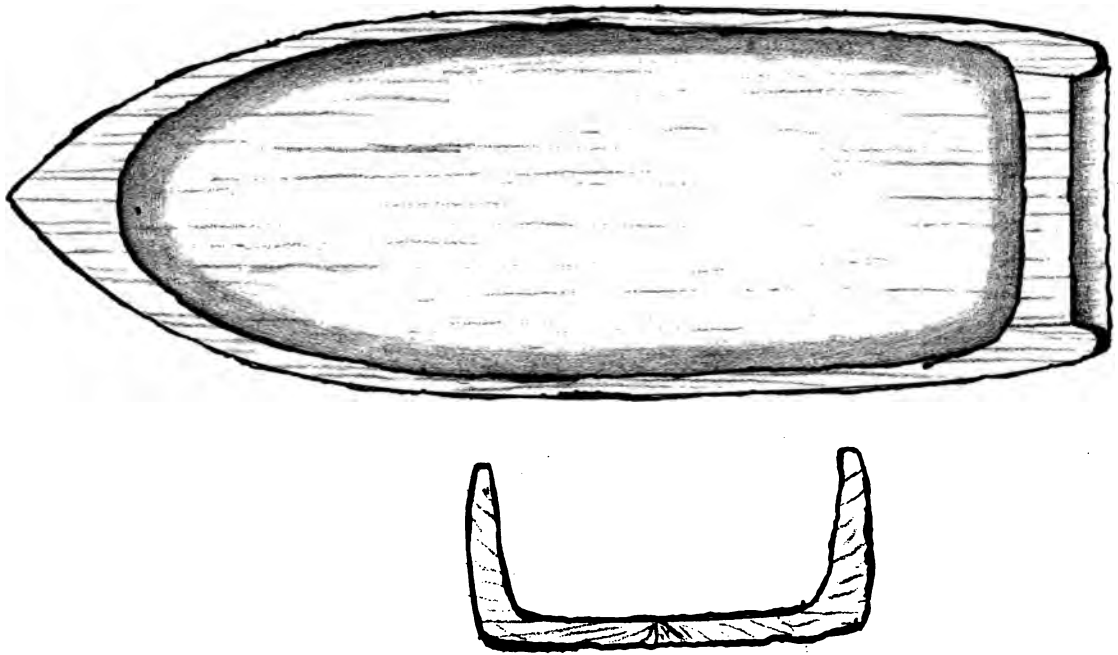


Scale, 3/4 inch - 1 foot.

FIRST ANCIENT CANOE DISCOVERED AT THE PRESTON DOCKS.

(See Transactions, Vol. V., page 344.)



Scale – ¾ inch to 1 foot.

SECOND ANCIENT CANOE DISCOVERED AT THE PRESTON DOCKS.

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skulls found up to the present time is sixteen. They are numbered according to the order in which they have been found. The classification is as follows:—

Nos.				
6	Cranial index	·67	Dolichocephalic	Long skulls.
3	„	·71	Subdolichocephalic	„
13	„	·72	„	„
4	„	·73	„	„
1, 2, 11, and 14	„	.76	Orthocephalic	Oval skulls.
16	„	·78	„	„
12	„	·79	„	„
8	„	·81	Brachycephalic	Broad skulls.
5, 7, and 15	„	·83	„	„

Nos. 9 and 10 are too imperfect to be measured. No. 2 has a small oblong aperture in the back, evidently made by a weapon. All the objects found on the dock works may be seen at any time in the Preston Free Public Museum. In February last I discovered a fine section of the Roman road from Walton to the north. This portion of the road at Frenchwood is eighty-four feet wide, just double the width of the section I excavated in December. This new section shows a badly-worn road, with several deep ruts. This latter section is about half a mile north of the section I first found. The first one is forty-two feet wide, and in a fairly good state of preservation; the ruts are only shallow, and there is a raised causeway for foot passengers running along the centre.

Mr. Yates exhibited stone implements from the Yorkshire wolds.

Friday, May 11th, 1888.

INSPECTION OF ROMAN MANCHESTER.

Under the leadership of Mr. Esdaile, the evening of May 11th was devoted to the exploration of the site of the Roman camp, the Roman fort, and the Roman town of Mancunium. The precious relic of wall, the core from which the facing

stones had been long ago removed, was visited, its existence being previously unknown to many of those present. The site of the mound of débris which was utilised in the ballasting of the Altrincham and South Junction Railway, of the various finds of coins, gods, &c., were gone over as far as practicable, and the members, after passing in and out of the streets and passages of the now-crowded neighbourhood, met in the librarian's room of the Deansgate Branch Free Library, the use of which had been kindly granted by Mr. Mawdsley. The walls were covered with plans, tracings, and drawings, by Mr. Esdaile, bearing upon the subject. From these were shown the area of maen-caster (stone-camp), as defined by the remains of stone walls at its three angles: (1) Charles Street, Liverpool Road; (2) the bank of the river Tib, at Gaythorn; and (3) on the north bank of the Medlock, at Castle Field, and it comprised both the site of the later Roman fortlet, or barrack, as well as the site of the Roman town. With the angles one and two only, this area is given sufficient for the construction of a legionary camp for the conquering Romans of the first century; and as such it embraced within itself quarters for every department of the Roman military service, from horse and foot, veterans and allies, down to watchmen, firemen, and the like; from the quarters for the general to the sites of the tribunal, the altars, the auguries, &c. This condition of camp arrangement was altered about A.D. 193, on the marriage of the soldiers while serving, according to the decree of the Emperor Severus; and to this period, or soon after, Mr. Esdaile assigned the building of the Roman fort, the remains of portions of the walls of which had been seen that evening. Their site and the bounds of this fort are seen on reference to Mr. Corbett's plan, prepared for the Archæological Association in 1851, when excavations were made for the inspection of the members of that body. The site and remains of the Roman town are plotted down from actual survey by Whitaker, and are given in his *History of Manchester*, and a copy was exhibited, from which it was seen that the streets were at

right angles, and that they extended up to "Camp" Street on the one side; that they were bounded by a morass, now the hollow occupied by the canal wharves at the lower end of Canal Street, and then still extending on the south up to Watling Street, which road was not exactly on the line of the present Deansgate, or Alport Lane as it was formerly called, but crossed Quay Street, over the site of Mr. Phillips' house. Whitaker also states explicitly that the neighbourhood was strewn with a débris of tiles, stones, and mortar, showing that he alluded to the other portion of the site which he not previously described. The numerous finds on the different portions of the area were alluded to, those at the Lower Mosley Street end of Fleet Street and Lombard Street; in Mount Street; on the site of the Rochdale Canal, in Gaythorn Street; on the line of Midland Railway, in Trafford Street; in the yard of the Crown Inn, in Trafford Street, at the corner of Deansgate; and in many other places. Reference to Whitaker showed that Roman burials had taken place on the line of the road leading from the camp westwards, along Knott Mill; and it was remarked as singular that few of the existing modern buildings are cellared up to Crown Street on the left hand, and not any from the railway arch for the same distance on the right. It is to be hoped that some supervision will be attempted by the Society when any alterations take place in the locality.

Saturday, May 12th, 1888.

VISIT TO ADLINGTON HALL AND PRESTBURY CHURCH.

Adlington Hall was visited under the leadership of Dr. Frank Renaud, F.S.A. This interesting old hall, the seat of the Legh family, was originally erected in the half-timbered style towards the end of the sixteenth century, and arranged round four sides of a large court. Only a portion of the old building is now standing, as during the last century about half was pulled down and re-erected on a much larger scale

in the Italian style. The additions were carried out in red brick, and form a rather striking contrast to the more interesting half-timbered work. The principal front of the new building faces the south, and is ornamented externally by a large and bold portico, on the pediment of which the arms of Charles and Hester Legh are carved, with the date 1757. A saloon occupies the entire length of the west wing of the quadrangle, and leads into the drawing-room, which, together with the dining-room, is panelled with oak, and has some carvings by Grinling Gibbons. The domestic chapel is located in the east wing, and is fitted up in a handsome manner. Before entering the hall Dr. Renaud pointed out an ancient stone pillar, similar to the Bow Stones, and used as a sundial, of which he gave a description. He then called the attention of the members to the massive oak gates, showing the shot holes therein. This hall was garrisoned for King Charles in the Civil Wars, and besieged by the Parliamentarians after the raising of the siege of Nantwich. It is thus noticed in Burghall's Diary: "Friday 14 (February, 1645), Adlington house was delivered up after being besieged a fortnight. A younger son of Mr. Legh and 150 soldiers had all fair quarter and leave to depart, leaving 700 arms and fifteen barrels of gunpowder." The chapel originated in a licence from William Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 25 Henry VI., to Robert Legh and Isabel his wife, "to keep a chaplain to perform mass and other divine offices in their presence in any of their manor houses within his diocese. Whereupon the said Robert and Isabel built a chapel at Adlington, which is considered domestic, and the chaplain appointed by Mr. Legh." In the opposite front, to the north, is the great hall of the mansion, which appears to be in the style of the time of Queen Elizabeth, with massive oak beams and an open roof, and lighted by immense mullioned windows. It contains the usual minstrels' gallery, and an old organ on which Handel is said to have played. Around the hall are placed many interesting trophies of the chase. The principal paintings were pointed out by the leader. The

house was the residence of Sir Urian Legh, Knight, who, it is related, fetched his knighthood from that worthy and famous surprising of Cadiz by the renowned Robert Earl of Sussex, in the year 1595.

After leaving the hall the members proceeded through the fine avenue of elm trees to the Wilderness, and then by pleasant field paths to Prestbury, where the church was inspected.*

PRESTBURY PARISH CHURCH.

Wednesday to Saturday, May 23rd to 26th, 1888.

VISIT TO NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE AND THE ROMAN WALL.

The Whitsuntide excursion was to Newcastle-upon-Tyne and the district lying between that city and Carlisle. For the first time in the history of the Society the members were deprived, through illness, of their accustomed leader and

* See also *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 249.

guide, Mr. George C. Yates. The bulk of the party left Manchester on the Wednesday morning, and on arriving at Newcastle made their way to the Black Gate Museum. Here they were met by the Newcastle Antiquarian Society, and Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., of South Shields, and the Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., the latter of whom described and explained the various altars, sculptured stones, tablets, statues, coins, and other remains from the Roman Wall. Passing into the castle, and observing the almost unprecedented thickness of the walls, the party inspected the well, the library, the King's Chamber, and the beautiful Norman chapel. Dr. Bruce explained that it was in the great hall here that Baliol, as King of Scotland, did homage to King Edward I. and acknowledged his overlordship.

Leaving Newcastle by train, the party proceeded to Hexham, where accommodation had been provided at the Hydropathic Hotel. The evening was spent in visiting the Abbey Church, under the guidance of the Rev. C. C. Hodges. A Saxon cathedral was erected here, A.D. 674, by St. Wilfrid, and there still remains its crypt, similar in arrangement to that at Ripon, though somewhat larger. The scraping of the plaster off the wall in numerous places revealed the fact that it had been largely if not entirely built of stones taken from the Roman Wall. The present church appears to have been begun about A.D. 1185, and was restored about thirty years ago. Great regret was expressed that in the course of this restoration the beautiful woodwork of the chapels had been taken away and sold. The attention of the members was directed to the Saxon "fridstool" or sanctuary seat, on the north side of the choir, to the beautiful lavatory, and to the site of the fratry, as the refectory ought to be called.

On the Thursday morning the party left Hexham in carriages for Chollerford, from which point the Roman Wall was to be followed westward. The first place visited was Chesters, the residence of Mr. John Clayton, F.S.A., vice-president of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries, a gentleman "to whom,

more than any other, the antiquary is indebted for the preservation and skilful display of the best remnants of the Imperial power in Britain." Too aged and infirm to welcome the members personally, he had taken care that they should have every facility for carrying out the object of their visit. Many of the Roman stations on the Wall belong to him, and one of them (CILURNUM) was close by. This station was shown to the members by Dr. Bruce, who pointed out the situation of the gateways, the guard chambers, the forum, the underground treasure house, and the baths, and explained many details connected with them. Passing down to the river, the party inspected the abutments of the Roman bridge, and the attention of the members, most of whom crossed in the boat, was directed to the fact that the river had, in the intervening centuries, changed its course, one abutment being now inland, and the other in the bed of the stream. A collection of altars, inscribed stones, tiles, vases, coins, and other objects of interest, taken from the ruins to the house, was also shown by Dr. Bruce. With the help of his graphic descriptions, the members were able, in imagination, to rebuild and people afresh the ancient camp, with its gateways and portals, its markets, its court of justice, and its baths, with all their elaborate arrangements; and none of those present will easily forget the quiet enthusiasm and the freshness with which he told what must have been to him an oft-told tale, or the pleasant humour which every now and then lighted up his narrative. Several hours having been thus pleasantly spent, the party, after partaking of the hospitality of Mr. Clayton, resumed their journey along the Wall, accompanied by Dr. Bruce and Mr. Blair, who pointed out the line of Wall, fosse, and vallum, and the other objects of interest which were constantly being met with. From Chesters the road ascends to Walwick, and runs upon the Wall, the stones of which may be seen at intervals. Tower Taye, a cottage built entirely of stones from the Wall, was next passed, and the ascent of the Limestone Bank brought into view a wide expanse of Northumberland and Durham

country stretching away to the north as far as the Cheviots, and to the south-west as far as Cross Fell and the Pennine range. The Wall now came distinctly into view, and was followed by the members with much interest. Soon the station of Carrawburgh (PROCOLITIA) was reached, and immediately afterwards the well dedicated to Coventina, in which had been found a large number of coins, vases,

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rings, fibulæ, and other articles. The next point of interest was Sewingshields, where King Arthur and Queen Guinevere are said to have been enchanted, and the scene of the legend embodied by Sir Walter Scott in *Harold the Dauntless*, though now

> No towers are seen
> On the wild heath, but those that Fancy builds,
> And save a fosse that tracks the moor with green,
> Is nought remains to tell of what may there have been.

At this stage Dr. Bruce and Mr. Blair were obliged to return, and the members parted from them with many thanks and much regret. Leaving Sewingshields on the right, the party soon found themselves at BORCOVICUS, the most perfect of all the camps on the Wall. It was examined

with much interest, and the members were able to trace the lines of the streets, the gateways, guard chambers, and other buildings. The ramparts were found to be still standing to the height of eight or ten feet. On the east, south, and west sides there are extensive foundations of suburban dwellings.

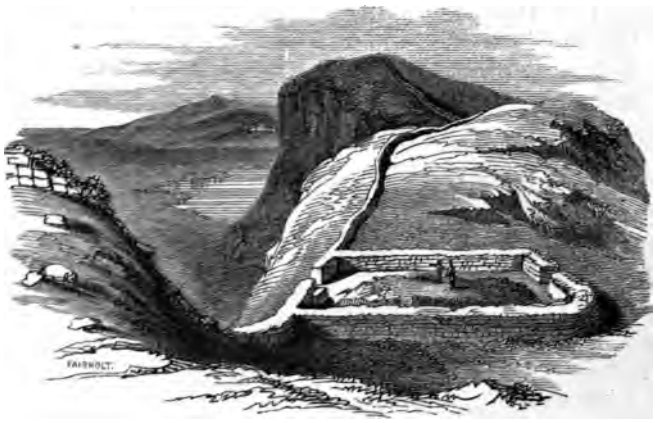
After examining Borcovicus, the party left the Wall for the day, and made their way to Bardon Mill Railway Station, whence they reached Gilsland, Shaw's Hotel being the head quarters for that and the succeeding night.

On the following day (Friday) the course of the Wall was resumed at Hotbank, a little west of Borcovicus, to which

THE WALL AND CRAG LOUGH, FROM HOTBANK.

place the party were driven by road. On the way a view was obtained of the ruins of Thirlwall Castle, built almost entirely of stone robbed from the Wall; and a short stay was made at Haltwhistle, to visit the church and the two ancient pele towers which now form part of modern buildings. The chancel of the church is of the twelfth century and the nave of the thirteenth. Standing against the south wall of the chancel is the tombstone of John Ridley, brother of Bishop Ridley, with a long inscription in verse. Continuing the drive to Hotbank, the party passed on the right Chesterholm

(VINDOLANA), a camp near which is a Roman milestone *in situ.* The portion of the Wall followed on this day was full of interest, and afforded much greater variety than before. Following the mountain ridge, it involved a series of ascents and descents, often craggy and precipitous. From near Hotbank the members looked down upon Crag Lough, one of the four Northumbrian lakes which at one time or other came into view. Steel Rig was followed by Castle Nick, with the gap guarded by a strong castellum. Descending the "Cats' Stairs," the party found themselves



CASTLE NICK.

proceeding along the foot of the basaltic escarpment of Peel Crag. Again rising, the summit of Winshields Crag was reached, one thousand two hundred and thirty feet above the sea, this being the most elevated part of the Wall. After this "Shield on the Wall" and Cawfields Mile-castles were passed, as well as Bogle Hole and Caw Gap, and the party ascended and descended many a steep and craggy path. Next the camp at Great Chesters (ÆSICA) was reached, and the aqueduct and other features were examined. Want of time prevented the members following the Wall along the ridge of the Nine Nicks of Thirlwall, and visiting the station of Cærvoran (MAGNA); and, the carriages having been

resumed, Gilsland was again reached. The evening was spent in inspecting the remains of the Wall at Gilsland, in viewing the beautiful valley of the Irthing, picturesquely wooded, with bold and precipitous rock escarpments, and in visiting the "popping stone" of Sir Walter Scott.

On the Saturday, the first object of interest was the camp at Birdoswald (AMBOGLANNA), the largest on the Wall, and noticeable for its double east and west gateways. In the adjacent farmhouse is incorporated an ancient pele tower, and there are preserved many altars, inscribed and sculptured

EAST GATEWAY. AMBOGLANNA.

stones, and other remains, including all but the head—which the party remembered to have seen in the museum at Newcastle—of a seated figure, one of the Deae Matres. Pausing only to view the gorge formed at this spot by the river Irthing, the party drove on to Combe Crag, where, on descending towards the river, they discovered on the face of the quarry the rock inscriptions made by the Wall builders,

> In letters like to those the vexillary
> Hath left crág-carven o'er the streaming Gelt.

Passing on by Pike Hill, the former site of a mile castle, a dismount was made at Hare Hill to view a portion of the Wall ten feet high, this being the greatest height anywhere

attained. The Wall was now finally left behind, the remainder of the visit being devoted to objects of a different character. In a few minutes Lanercost was reached, and here the party were met by Mr. George Howard, of Naworth Castle (now the Earl of Carlisle), who led them over the Priory with its adjacent buildings, and gave an excellent description of them. The Priory was founded A.D. 1169, by Robert de Vallibus, second Baron of Gilsland, and part of it was rebuilt in the thirteenth century. Edward I. spent there some of the last months of his life, and is said to have held a Parliament on the spot. At the dissolution of the monasteries the Priory and its estates were granted to the Dacres, by whom the conventual buildings were converted into a dwelling-house.

From Lanercost the party were led by Mr. Howard to Naworth Castle, where they were hospitably entertained by him, and shown over the whole of the apartments, the valuable, and in many cases unique, contents of which he described in detail. The castle was reached by a charming walk through the woods, by the side of a little stream. Occupying the site of an ancient pele tower, it was built or rebuilt to a considerable extent by Thomas Lord Dacre between 1485 and 1525. Other additions and changes were made by Lord William Howard, the "Belted Will" of the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, who resided here in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His private apartments, preserved intact from the disastrous fire of 1844, still remain, the oratory in which he was wont to offer his devotions, and the library containing the books he used to read. The rest of the baronial castle, which once stood as a barrier against the marauding Scot, has been transformed internally into a modern residence, in which culture and artistic feeling are everywhere noticeable. But much of what is old remains, and the towers and battlemented buildings still recall the times

> When mail'd moss-troopers rode the hill,
> When helmed warders paced the keep,
> And bugles blew for Belted Will.

From the battlements the party enjoyed an extensive and singularly-beautiful prospect, embracing the Solway and the Scotch hills.

Leaving Naworth, a final visit, under the guidance of Mr. Howard, was paid to a British camp on an adjacent hill (Tortie). As this concluded the programme which had been arranged, those of the members who were not staying in the district to see Brampton and the rock inscriptions by the Gelt, above alluded to, made their way to the railway station, and eventually reached Manchester about ten o'clock, having had a very successful and enjoyable excursion, favoured throughout by brilliant weather, and having had the advantage of the company of some of the most able antiquaries in the north of England. Before the party broke up on the Saturday, it was moved by Mr. W. Harrison, seconded by Mr. Ford Smith, and resolved: "That this meeting, before separating, wishes to express its regret at the ill health which has prevented the honorary secretary, Mr. George C. Yates, from being present, and with it a hope that he may speedily be restored to his accustomed health and vigour."

Monday, June 4th, 1888.

WARDLEY HALL: SPANISH ARMADA.

A party of the Society visited Wardley Hall, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates. On arriving at the hall, which is picturesquely situated, and almost surrounded by a moat still filled with water, the exterior was examined. The hall is constructed on the plan which appears to have been used in Lancashire in the Tudor period, and dates from the time of Edward VI. Many alterations have, however, been made; and internally the changes are so great as to disguise altogether the original arrangements. One of the chief attractions in the hall is a skull, said to be that of Roger Downes, killed in a drunken brawl in London in 1676. This

skull is preserved in a glass case on the staircase. The members assembled in the oak room, where a meeting was held under the presidency of Mr. Albert Nicholson.

Mr. Yates narrated the several legends in connection with the skull, and then gave an account of the various families connected with Wardley Hall.*

Mr. George Esdaile read the following paper referring to the local subscriptions for the purpose of aiding in resisting the advance of the Spansh Armada:—

It is within three hundred years of the time when the dwellers in this and such other homes and halls of England were called upon to subscribe, by way of loan, the sum of not less than twenty-five pounds each, for the purpose of resisting to the utmost the advance of the Spanish Armada; and in the Lansdowne MS. 58 (182), amongst Lord Burghley's papers, we find "a draught of y^e^ preamble for y^e^ subsidy," with the Lord Treasurer's own emendations. A copy of this was sent to each person considered capable of contributing, and it read—

"*By the Queene:*

"Trusty and wellbeloved, we greete you well Wheras for the better w^th^standing of the intended invasion of this realme, upon the greate preparacōns made by the King of Spayne, bothe by sea and land, the last yeare, the same having been such as the lyke was never prepared at any tyme against this Realme, we were enforced for the defence of the same and of our good and loving subjects to be at infinite charges both by sea and land, especially for that the said intended invasion tended directly to the conquest of this Realme, and finding also by such intelligence as we dayly receave that the lyke intent the next yeare by the said Kynge for the w^th^standing wherof y^t^ shalbe necessary for us

* This hall was previously visited by the Society on 23rd June, 1883 (see *Transactions*, vol. i., pp. 31, 100). On that occasion Mr. Bailey read a paper on An Account Book kept by Gilbert and Francis Sherrington, who resided at Wardley in the reign of Elizabeth, the substance of which paper is given in *Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Notes*, vol. i., p. 31.

to prepare both by sea and land w^ch^ cannot be pformed without great charges.

"We have therfore thought y^t^ expedient, having alwaies found our good and loving subjects most ready upon such lyke occasions to furnish us by way of loane of some convenient porcōns of mony agreable w^th^ their estates (w^ch^ we have and mynd alwaies to repay) to have recourse unto them in lyke maner at this present, and therfore, having made choyce in the severall ptes of our Realme of a number able to do us this kinde of service, w^ch^ is not refused betwixt neighbo^r^ and neighbo^r^ Amongst this number we have p̄ticulerly named you . . . for your ability and goodwill you bear to us and our Realme, to be one. Wherfore, we require you to pay to our use the sume of Twenty fyve Pounds to such pson, as by our Lieutenn^t^ of that County shal be named to you by his handwriting.

"And these our Lrēs of Pryvy Seale subscribed by the pty so named by our Lieutennt that shall receave the same, confessing the tyme of the Receipt therof shalbe sufficient to bynd us, our heires and successors, duely to repay the said some to you or to yo^r^ assignes at thend of one yeare from the tyme of yo^r^ payment Yeven under my Pryvy Seale at our Pallace of Westm^r^, the xx^th^ day of ffebruary, in the xxxj^th^ yeare of our Reigne (1588-9). "THOS. KER.

"To o^r^ trustie and welbeloved

—— —— of the

—— gent."

Lists are extant amongst the Lansdowne MS. 81 (141) of these subscribers, what they paid, or whether, their incomes being insufficient, they were discharged from payment. Some were excused by "lrēs frō my Lō Treso^r^," and others prayed to be excused paying for a very cogent reason, "that neither the Lord Lieutenant nor the Deputie Lieutenants have certified the sufficiencie of yo^r^ suppliant to be able to lend her mat^ie^ anie some of money."

From the county of Lancaster the sum of £1,925 was demanded, and from this £200 must be deducted, as the

eight persons asked were not charged, leaving £1,725 as the net receipt from the county of Lancaster from sixty persons. Their names and amounts were:—

1.	Sir John Radcliffe, miles	£100
2.	Sir Edmonde Trafforde, miles	100
3.	Thomas Houghton, armiger	100
4.	Christofer Anderton „	50
5.	John Fletewood „	50
6.	Robert Heskeith „	50
7.	Thomas Preston „	50
8.	Edward Standishe „	50
9.	James Anderton „	25
10.	James Asheton „	25
11.	Raphe Asheton „	25
12.	Richard Asheton „	25
13.	Henrie Bannester „	25
14.	Nicholas Bannester „	25
15.	Richard Blundell „	25
16.	Richard Bold „	25
17.	John Bradley „	25
18.	Edward Brewerton „	25
19.	Richard Brewerton „	25
20.	Thomas Clayton „	25
21.	Robert Charnocke „	25
22.	John Cowerden, gentleman	25
23.	William Croft, armiger	25
24.	John Cultheath, armiger	25
25.	John Dewhurst „	25
26.	Roger Diconson „	25
27.	Henrie Eccleston „	25
28.	William Farrington „	25
29.	William Fleminge „	25
30.	John Fletewood „	25
31.	Myles Gerrard „	25
32.	Adam Harden „	25
33.	Giles Hilton, gentleman	25
34.	Richard Hollande, armiger	25

35. Humfrey Houghton, gentleman - - £25
36. George Ireland - - - - - 25
37. Lawrence Ireland, armiger - - - 25
38. Barnabie Kitchen „ - - - 25
39. Thomas Lancaster „ - - - 25
40. George Lathom, gentleman - - - 25
41. Thomas Leigh, armiger - - - 25
42. John Lowe, gentleman - - - 25
43. William Massye, armiger - - - 25
44. George Midleton „ - - - 25
45. Richard Molineux „ - - - 25
46. William More „ - - - 25
47. Edward Norres „ - - - 25
48. Roger Nowell „ - - - 25
49. Edward Osbaldeston „ - - - 25
50. Christopher Preston „ - - - 25
51. Edward Scaresbeck „ - - - 25
52. Serjant Shutleworth „ - - - 25
53. Sir John Southworth, miles - - - 25
54. Thomas Standishe, esquire - - - 25
55. John Talbot, gentleman - - - 25
56. Richard Tipping „ - - - 25
57. Richard Walmesly, gentleman - - 25
58. Serjant Walmesly „ - - 25
59. James Worseley, armiger - - - 25
60. Richard Worseley, gentleman - - 25

The eight who were not charged were:—

61. Robert Bindlowes, armiger - - - 25
62. Roger Breers „ - - - 25
63. Henrie Butler „ - - - 25
64. John Byrom „ - - - 25
65. Thomas Eccleston „ - - - 25
66. John Singleton „ - - - 25
67. William Thorneborough, armiger - - 25
68. John Westbie „ - - 25

The contributions from Cheshire were lower by £129 than those from Lancashire; but it must be said for the county

of Chester that there was not a man, nor lady either, who did not pay the quota required. The total receipt from Cheshire was £1,596.

1.	Sir William Brereton, miles	£100
2.	Sir Peter Leigh „	100
3.	Sir Rowland Standeley „	100
4.	Sir Randall Brereton „	50
5.	Hugh Calverley, of Ley, armiger	50
6.	The Ladie Egerton	50
7.	Thomas Leigh, of High Leigh, armiger	50
8.	Thomas Ashton „	25
9.	Henrie Berkenhead „	25
10.	George Boothe „	25
11.	The Ladie Boothe	25
12.	William Brereton, of Handford, armiger	25
13.	Thomas Brooke, armiger	25
14.	John Brown, of Stapleford	25
15.	Thomas Bunburie, armiger	25
16.	Ralph Calveley „	25
17.	Richard Church	25
18.	Richard Cotton, armiger	25
19.	Randall Davenport, of Henbry, armiger	25
20.	William Davenport, of Bromhall „	25
21.	Henrie Delves, armiger	25
22.	William Duckensfield, armiger	25
23.	John Dutton „	25
24.	Rowland Dutton „	25
25.	John Egerton „	25
26.	Richard Gravenor „	25
27.	Jo Griffith „	25
28.	Ralph Harden „	25
29.	Robert Hid, of Norbry „	25
30.	Adam Leicester „	25
31.	John Leigh, of Boothe „	25
32.	Thomas Leigh, of Adlington, armiger	25
33.	Henrie Manwering, armiger	25
34.	Randall Manwering, of Peever, armiger	25

35.	Roger Manwering, armiger - - -	£25
36.	William Marbury, of Meare, armiger -	25
37.	George Massey - - - - -	25
38.	Geffrie Minshull - - - - -	25
39.	Philip Oldefield - - - - -	25
40.	John Poole, armiger - - - -	25
41.	Geoffrey Shakerley, armiger - - -	25
42.	Thomas Smithe „ - - -	25
43.	Thomas Standley, of Alderley, armiger -	25
44.	Thomas Tutchett, armiger - - -	25
45.	Thomas Venables „ - - -	25
46.	Thomas Vernon „ - - -	25
47.	The Ladie Warburton - - - -	25
48.	William Whitmore - - - -	25
49.	Richard Wilbram - - - -	25
50.	Thomas Wilbram, armiger - - -	25
51.	Peter Warburton „ - - -	21

Saturday, June 30th, 1888.

VISIT TO SPEKE HALL AND HALE.

About forty members paid a visit to Speke Hall, near Liverpool, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, and they were hospitably received and entertained by Miss Watt, the resident owner. Sir James A. Picton came from Liverpool to meet the party, and described the hall and explained its connection with the past. The hall dates from the sixteenth century, when the Wars of the Roses had ceased, and turbulence had given way to a more settled civilisation. It is accordingly not so strongly fortified, and bears more of a domestic character than would have been the case had it been erected at a somewhat earlier date. The buildings surround a quadrangular courtyard, in the centre of which are two old yew trees. An inscription over the entrance records the fact that "This worke twenty-five yards long was wholly built by Edw. N., Esq. Anno 1598." This

was Edward Norres, a member of a family which held Speke during several centuries. The name Speke, said Sir James Picton, indicated a place for feeding pigs. In *Domesday Book* it is stated "Uctred held Spec. There are two carucates of land. It was worth 64 pounds." After the Conquest it formed part of the lands granted to Roger de Poictou, and ultimately came by marriage into the Norres or Norreys family in the fourteenth century. Among the records of the Duchy of Lancaster is a grant of free warren in Speek to Henry le Norreys, made between 1356 and 1363. The family appears frequently in the lists of the county gentry made for various persons in the succeeding centuries. In 1586, in the list of "names of such as are detected for receiptinge of priests" appears the presentment of the vicar of Kirkham: "Richard Brittain, a priest receipted in the house of William Bennet of Westby about the beginning of June last, from whence young Mr. Norrice, of Speke, conveyed the said Brittain to the Speke, as the said Bennet hath reported. The said Brittain remayneth now at the house of Mr. Norrice, of the Speke, as appeareth by the deposition of John Osbaldston (by common report)." The name of "Edward Norres" nevertheless appears amongst the signatories of the declaration of the association of Lancashire gentlemen (which indeed included many patriotic Roman Catholics) pledged by oath to defend the queen against all her enemies, foreign and domestic. Edward Norris also appears as a contributor of £25 towards the defence of the country against the Spanish invasion of 1588, and the same name occurs again in the loyal response to the proclamation of King James on his accession. In 1646 we find "Thomas Norris, of Speak, Esq.," forced to compound for his estate as a "delinquent" for the sum of £508. As some compensation for the family sacrifices for the royal cause, "Henry Norris, Esq.," figures among the persons whom it was intended to create "Knights of the Royal Oak" on the Restoration. This intention was not carried out from fear that it might create heats and animosities. The estate

remained in the Norris family until the beginning of the eighteenth century, when, male issue failing, it passed by marriage into the hands of Lord Sidney Beauclerk, and ultimately, about 1780, was purchased by Mr. Watt, a Liverpool merchant.

Having made the circuit of the corridors, and visited, amongst others, the haunted chamber, the party entered the great hall, rich in elaborate wood carving. Here, after tea, an address was delivered by

Sir James A. Picton, who said Speke Hall, situated on the eastern shore of the estuary of the Mersey, about seven miles from Liverpool, is an interesting example of the timber-framed, moated manor-house of the early part of the sixteenth century. At that period the castellated structures of the feudal age were no longer necessary, but provision had to be made against any sudden attack in case of an emeute or insurrection. Hence the moat and drawbridge. The hall was erected by one of the family of Norreys, who had been settled here since the middle of the fourteenth century. Sir William Norreys along with Sir Edward Stanley commanded the Lancashire contingent at the battle of Flodden Field in 1509. He or his son was again at the battle of Solway Moss in 1543, when a raid was made on the palace of Holyrood, from whence the doughty knight brought away considerable spoil. He was killed at the battle of Musselburgh in 1547. The estate remained in possession of the Norreys family until about a century ago, when it passed by failure of male heirs and purchase to Mr. Richard Watt, merchant, of Liverpool, by whose descendants it is still owned. The hall remains in its general features almost intact. The moat has been drained and converted into pleasure ground; the drawbridge was removed about the end of the sixteenth century and a stone bridge substituted. The interior has had to submit to the alterations necessary to adapt it to modern requirements, but these have been done with a careful hand, so that practically we may feel ourselves with its precincts as if transported to the

time of Shakspere and Bacon. The premises consist of a quadrangle surrounded by timber-framed buildings in black and white, with gables, barge boards, and pinnacles. Two venerable yew trees, probably coeval with the structure, stand in the midst, their foliage overshadowing a great part of the court. The entrance front faces the east. The great hall is lined with the oak wainscoting plundered from Holyrood Palace. The panelling on the north wall is divided into eight compartments, subdivided into five rows of panels, with the following inscriptions in detached portions:—

"Slepe not till thou hathe considerd how thow hast spent y^e^ day past. If thow have well don, thank God; if other ways repent ye."

Over one of the doors is the following sentence:—

"The streghtest } ys { God to love and serve
Waye to heaven } { Above all thyng."

Sir William was not satisfied with the spoliation of the wainscoting, he also ransacked the royal library, and brought from thence fourteen folio volumes of early printing. These volumes are now in the Athenæum Library, Liverpool, and contain inscriptions in the handwriting of Sir William Norris stating the circumstances. The long rambling corridors, with a multiplicity of small chambers on the upper floor,

> Rich windows that exclude the light
> And passages that lead to nothing,

are very characteristic of the period. An old mansion like this would not be complete without a haunted chamber and secret passages. Speke Hall has both. There is a bedchamber on the upper floor which has such an evil tradition that no domestic can be prevailed on to sleep in it, for fear of such an incident as that which occurred at Tappington Hall, described in the *Ingoldsby Legends*. One of the staircases leads down to the entrance of a subterranean passage not now open. Tradition maintains that this continues to the bank of the river to facilitate escape in case of need. This is a moot point which has not been tested. It is certain

that for some time subsequent to the Reformation, the Norris family were Catholics, as were most of the leading gentry in Lancashire, and very probably means were adopted to protect and to provide means of escape for the proscribed priests. The Speke estate, with its venerable hall and its well-cultivated farms, forms an oasis in the desert, with smoky Widnes on one side and Garston docks and manufactories on the other. Long may it remain to preserve the pleasing reminiscences of the dear old English life!

On the motion of the Rev. E. F. Letts, seconded by Mr. H. H. Sales, a cordial vote of thanks was given to Miss Watt for her hospitable reception of the members, and also for the kindly and reverent care which she had always bestowed upon the building with a view to its preservation.

Sir James Picton, in putting the motion, observed that in a building like this, which stood in the time of Shakspere almost exactly as it stands now, we were transported, as it were, three hundred years back, to a period nearly mediæval, and all the associations of such a noble period in the history of England were brought vividly before our minds. It was a very excellent thing that the property had descended to a lady so well capable of protecting all its associations. Miss Watt felt it to be an honour and a duty incumbent upon her to keep up in its pristine condition this splendid property which had come down to her by inheritance. She acted upon the principle *noblesse oblige*, and had welcomed them that day with the cordiality and amiability which distinguished her. They would hope that she might long live to enjoy that splendid property and preserve it for succeeding generations. Changes might come in the future, but he was assured that it would not be in Miss Watt's time.

Miss Watt having suitably responded and expressed her pleasure at receiving a visit from the members of the Society, the thanks of the meeting were voted to Sir James Picton for the assistance he had so freely and cheerfully given to the members.

After leaving Speke the party walked by a charming

fieldpath to Hale Hall, the residence of Colonel Ireland Blackburne. The estate devolved to the present family by the marriage of the heiress of the Ireland family with Thomas Blackburne, Esq., of Orford, near Warrington. The oldest part of the mansion is the north front, and was built by Sir Gilbert Ireland in 1674. The south front and tower were erected after designs by Mr. Nash, in conformity with the style of the ancient building. This front commands a pleasing view of the river Mersey, which is here about three miles broad, together with the opposite shore of Cheshire and the mountains of North Wales. In the house the members inspected the fine collection of family portraits, and the library and museum, which contains, besides many valuable books, a collection of objects of natural history, especially birds and insects. In the upper landing is a life-size portrait in oil of John Middleton, commonly called the "Childe of Hale," whose extraordinary size and strength have been rarely equalled since the period of the sons of Anak, when "there were giants in the land." His hand, from the wrist to the end of the middle finger, measured seventeen inches; his palm eight inches and a half; and his height was nine feet three inches. He was born in the chapelry of Hale in 1578, and lies buried in the churchyard of Hale. In 1617 he was presented to King James II., dressed in a fantastic costume, such as befitted so huge and exceptional a mortal. On leaving the hall the members walked through the gardens. The park supplies many a delightful prospect, especially when the eye crosses the broad and shining water and rests upon the distant hills. Fine trees in abundance help to give character to the park, conspicuous amongst them being many tall and handsome lindens. The members afterwards proceeded to Hale Church, pausing at the "Childe's" grave to read the inscription, which is as follows:—

> Here lyeth the bodye of John
> Middleton the childe, nine feet three.
> Borne 1578. Dyede 1623.

The party next passed through the village, which is remarkable for its neatness and rural aspect, and proceeded to Hale Hut, about two miles distant, the ancient baronial residence of the Ireland family. Very little of the ancient building survives, but the Old Gate (inhabited by a farmer) and part of the ruins, with the moat and drawbridge, are very interesting. The building was abandoned as a family residence on the erection of the new hall in the seventeenth century.

Saturday, July 14th, 1888.

VISIT TO CHESTER.

A large party, numbering upwards of sixty members and friends, visited Chester under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., and Mr. T. Cann Hughes, B.A. A portion of the party proceeded to Chester by an early train, and availed themselves of the opportunity of a sail upon the waters of the "wizard Dee" as far as Eccleston. After lunch the whole party assembled at the Eastgate, where they were met by Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., Alderman Brown, Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. Alexander Lamont, Mr. Isaac Matthews Jones (city surveyor), Mr. William Shone, F.G.S., and Mr. F. H. Williams (author of the *Synopsis of the Roman Inscriptions of Chester*). Mr. E. J. Baillie, the local secretary of this society, was unfortunately prevented from meeting the visitors by his duties elsewhere. Previous to starting, Mr. Thomas Hughes welcomed the party in the name of the Antiquaries of Chester; and, after apologising for the state of his health preventing him taking charge of the party, called upon his son (who had accompanied the party from Manchester) to take his place as their leader. Mr. Hughes remained with the party during a portion of the walk on the Walls, and met them again at St. Peter's Church, and thence continued with them to St. John's.

Mr. T. Cann Hughes took the visitors along the Walls,

calling attention to the King's Arms Kitchen, where Charles I. founded a mimic corporation, which exists with its dummy insignia to this day; to the Corn Exchange built on the site of the old Manchester Hall; and to the north-east view of the Cathedral from this point. Notice was also taken of the spot where the altar to the "Goddess Mothers" (now in the Grosvenor Museum) was discovered in 1861. The Kale-yards gate was the next object of interest, leading through the Walls to the gardens where kale was grown for the tables of the monks of St. Werburgh's Abbey in the centuries long gone by, and the source of many quarrels between the authorities of the city and the abbey. Passing the site of "the Saddler's Tower," the party reached the Phœnix Tower (formerly Newton's, but which bears its present name from the crest of the Stationers' Company who met there). On this tower King Charles I. stood with the mayor of Chester of that time (Thomas Cowper) and saw his army defeated on Rowton Moor, September 27th, 1645. The party had now reached the site of the much-disputed Roman work, on which Mr. Charles Roach Smith, Dr. Collingwood Bruce, Sir James Picton, Mr. Loftus Brock, and other prominent scholars, have recently had so much to say to the British Archæological Institute and Association at Liverpool, Chester, and elsewhere. A descent was next made into the Deanery Field, to inspect the Roman remains recently found in the City Walls at this point. The party were here met by Mr. Henry Taylor, F.S.A. (town clerk and historian of Flint, and secretary of the Chester Archæological Society). Mr. Isaac Matthews Jones gave a lucid description of the Roman gravestones and other similar memorials, and of the circumstances under which they were last year recovered under his official direction.

A move was next made to the Northgate, where Mr. Cann Hughes called attention to the sometimes disputed Roman cornice, and the Blue Coat Hospital, founded by Bishop Stratford, in 1700, upon the site of the older hospital of St. John, a charitable institution still extant. He also drew

attention to the general plan of the city, and remarked its similarity to Gloucester, Rochester, and other cities of Roman origin. He next led the party to Morgan's Mount, a redoubt used in the siege of Chester, and from which a good view can ordinarily be obtained of Moel Fanmau and its Jubilee Tower, Hawarden Castle, and the plain of Wirral to Heswall Hill. Mr. William Shone, F.G.S., at this point said a few words as to the ancient course of the river Dee. The party then proceeded to Pemberton's Parlour—another wall-tower, in a good state of preservation, having been, with its curious inscription, lately restored by the city; and, after attention had been called to the important Roman series of tiled graves found in the Barrow Field in 1858, went to the Water Tower grounds, where Alderman Brown (thrice mayor of Chester) and Mr. I. M. Jones, in the unavoidable absence of Mr. F. H. Williams, described the Roman hypocaust, graves, and other remains there preserved. The party proceeded past the Chester Infirmary, and the Queen's School, on the site of the old City Gaol (remarkable as the place where the last public execution and the last execution for attempted murder took place in England), to the Watergate and the Roodeye. Mr. Hughes here explained the legend of "The Island of the Cross," fully set forth in Colonel Egerton Leigh's *Cheshire Legends and Ballads;* and Alderman Brown and Mr. Matthews Jones referred to the portion of the Roman Wall *in situ*, and a description was given of the various Roman finds on the Roodeye, full accounts of which appear in the volumes of the Chester Archæological Society's *Journal.*

The Grosvenor Museum (the erection of which is largely due to the munificence of the Duke of Westminster, and which reflects great credit on the architect, Mr. T. M. Lockwood, who but for pressing business in London would have been with the party) was next visited. Here the visitors were met by his Honour Judge Hughes, Q.C. Dr. Stolterfoth, Mr. A. Lamont, and other friends kindly stepped forward to take the place of the curator (Mr. Shrubsole, F.G.S.), who

found himself unable to meet the party here as arranged, and the fine show of Roman altars and other local remains of various descriptions was inspected.

Thence the company moved off to the crypts in Bridge Street, Watergate Street, and Eastgate Street, which were described respectively by Alderman Brown and Mr. J. Sheriff-Roberts (the proprietor of the Watergate Street crypt, who kindly distributed copies of his printed and illustrated description of *his* own crypt among the members). The probable intention and use of these crypts created considerable discussion, Alderman Brown maintaining they were simply store-houses for the merchants, while Judge Hughes, Dr. Colley March, Mr. J. H. Wylie, and Mr. J. W. Rimmer, of Madeley, Staffordshire, were of opinion that their origin was ecclesiastical.

Hence the company went to St. Peter's Church at the High Cross, which Mr. I. E. Ewen adequately described by the means of cartoon illustrations (noticing *en passant* Mr. Lockwood's elegant new building in the domestic timber style, almost on the site of the old Pillory and Conduit, at the N.E. angle of Upper Bridge Street).

A move was next made to the grand old Norman church of St. John's, most efficiently described by the vicar (the Rev. S. C. Scott), assisted by Mr. Harry Beswick. The beauty of the piers and of the Norman window on the top of the crypt was much appreciated. This window was early in this century converted into the doorway, leading from a flight of steps to what was then the residence of Mrs. De Quincey, formerly well known in Manchester, and mother of the celebrated "Opium Eater."

The Cathedral was next reached, where Archdeacon Barber guided the visitors over the old Church of St. Werburgh. Particular attention was called to the fine screen-work of the choir; to the Norman ambulatory of the north transept; to the chapel bearing the name and containing a bust of Thomas Brassey (the great railway contractor); and to the monuments to Bishop Jacobson, Dean Howson, and

Randolph Caldecott, the latter born in Chester, and educated at The King's School there. Archdeacon Barber also described the tasteful mosaics on the north wall of the nave, the gift of Mrs. Robert Platt, of Stalybridge, in memory of her husband, Mr. Robert Platt, formerly of Dunham Massey Hall. He conducted the party through the Chapter House, where the remains found in the tomb of Ranulph Higden, the author of the *Polychronicon*, and a monk of Chester, in the south aisle of the choir, are deposited. The party were much interested in inspecting (in the cloister green) the grave of the good Dean Howson, who, on the occasion of the Society's last visit to Chester, described his revered cathedral to them with his usual inimitable intelligence, and a kindness which was peculiarly his own, and whose name will ever be associated—whether in the minds of Englishmen or Americans—with the splendid and successful efforts he made for the restoration of that cathedral church beneath whose shade he so fitly rests. The archdeacon then led the way to the Norman crypt, and to the refectory (formerly The King's School), and then addressed a few remarks on the history of the structure to the company.

Afterwards they were taken by Alderman Brown through the new Town Hall, opened by the Prince of Wales in November, 1869. He called their attention to the remainder of the recent Roman find, of which Mr. Matthews Jones had given the members so good a description earlier in the day.

After tea, Mr. Cann Hughes again met the party at the High Cross, and led them to see the various examples of domestic architecture in Watergate Street. "God's Providence House" (so intimately connected with the name of Mrs. G. Linnæus Banks), Bishop Lloyd's House, and the Stanley House (the property of the Chester Archæological Society), were in turn visited. Trinity Church, where there are a fine brass to Sir John Whitmore, and memorials of Thomas Parnell, author of *The Hermit* and Archdeacon of Clogher: also that of Matthew Henry, the commentator, was noticed. The party went by way of Weaver Street and

White Friars (observing *en route* the wall of the friary and the site of the recent find of a Roman building, fitly marked by its owner, Mr. F. Bullin), to the Falcon Cocoa House and Bridge Street, where they were shown two Roman pillars *in situ:* and thence to the railway station, where Mr. Thomas Hughes was waiting to see the visitors off to Manchester, after a most interesting day in (to use the words of Albert Smith in his *Christopher Tadpole*) "the rare old city of Chester!"

Saturday, July 28th, 1888.

OLD HALLS AND CHURCHES NEAR MACCLESFIELD.

The members made an excursion to examine some of the ancient churches and manor houses in the neighbourhood of Macclesfield. On arriving at that town they were joined by Mr. James Croston, who had undertaken to act in the capacity of leader.

Leaving Macclesfield by way of Chestergate, the route was through a pleasant woodland country to the cross roads at Monks' Heath, a name that calls up memories of the former possessors of the land here—the monks of Dieulacres Abbey, a religious house founded by Randle Blundeville, the Crusader-Earl of Chester, at Leek. Capesthorne was the next point reached, a stately brick mansion erected in 1722; remodelled in the early part of the present century by Edward Blore; and restored, after the disastrous fire in 1861, by Salvin. The house is the residence of Mr. W. Bromley-Davenport, M.P. for the Macclesfield division of Cheshire, whose ancestors have been settled here for many generations, having acquired the property by marriage with the heiress of a certain Randle de Capesthorne, who flourished in the fourteenth century. Near to the hall is a spacious sheet of water, Reeds Mere, famed for its floating island, with which is associated a legendary love tale, the incidents of which, it must be confessed, do not closely harmonise with the prosaic

facts of history. At Siddington, a mile or so beyond Capesthorne, a halt was made for the purpose of examining the ancient ecclesiastical edifice, founded or endowed by Robert Sydington in 1474, as a chapel of ease to the church of Prestbury. It is a picturesque structure, partly of brick and partly of timber and plaster, with a quaint black and white bellcot surmounting the western end. In the churchyard is preserved the shaft of an ancient stone cross, near which is a wide-spreading yew, that has cast its darkening shadow over the upheaved turf for many a century past.

Resuming the journey, a drive of two miles brought the party to Marton, a place full of interest. The church here is a charming example of the half-timbered style, and though small, is probably the most perfect of its kind in the county. It was founded in 1343 by Sir John Davenport, and Vivian Davenport, his son, and the sculptured figures of the founders, habited in the armour of the period, are now placed within a kind of Galilee porch, one on each side the entrance, having been removed from the graveyard to protect them from further mutilation. The building is curiously constructed, the aisles being separated from the nave by lofty octagonal pillars of timber, with elaborately moulded capitals, which, without the usual intervening clerestory, give direct support to the roof, which slopes down continuously from the ridge-piece to the outer walls—these latter, as well as the south porch and the Galilee, being of chequered timber work. The building has in late years been restored in very good taste by Mr. Butterfield, at the cost of Mrs. Barber, the daughter of the Rev. John Darcey, a former incumbent. Before leaving the church,

Mr. Croston gave a short address to the members, in which he pointed out the salient features of the building and the points of special interest, and remarked that nearly the whole of the places chosen for examination during the day's excursion were either the property of, or connected with, the Davenport family, whose history he proceeded to relate from the time of their first settlement in that locality, when,

about the year 1166, Richard, son of Orme de Davenport, became owner of Marton, and had the important offices of chief forester of Leek and Macclesfield conferred upon him by Hugh Kyvelioc, palatine Earl of Chester. Vivian Davenport, the great grandson of this Richard, "exchanged," as it was euphemistically phrased, but, more correctly speaking, was deprived of his lands in Macclesfield in a somewhat high-handed manner by Randle Blundeville, and received the hereditary magisterial serjeantry of the forest of Macclesfield in lieu thereof; the former being worth £40 a year, while the latter was only valued at £12. 6s. 8d. Mr. Croston proceeded to explain the office of forester and grand serjeant, and made reference to the decapitation of robbers, outlaws, and cutpurses caught in the forest, by the head of the house of Davenport; who, for these services, was entitled to the liberal remuneration of two shillings and a salmon for the capture in the case of a master robber, and a shilling for that of a common thief—though sometimes complaints were made that claims due for these services had not been duly met. The Davenports, he said, had had the good fortune oftentimes to marry heiresses, and in that way had accumulated estates and founded several branches in the immediate locality, of which mention might be made of the Davenports of Marton, of Capesthorne, of Woodford, Wheltrough, Henbury, Sutton, Newton, and Butley—indeed, so widespread had the family become, that it was a common saying in Cheshire that while the Leghs were as thick as fleas, and the Masseys as plentiful as asses, there were as many Davenports as dogs' tails.

Within a quarter of a mile of the church is the far-famed Marton oak. It stands in a farmyard, and is accounted one of the largest, if not *the* largest, tree in the kingdom; the circumference at four feet from the ground being forty-three feet, and at the base about fifty-eight feet. It is quite hollow in the interior, and within a hen has established her nest, and was sitting at the time of the visit, though she did not seem to appreciate very highly the curiosity manifested by

inquisitive antiquaries in her leafy abode. From the church a short excursion was made to Marton Hall, a picturesque black and white building, with mullioned windows, projecting bays, and gabled roofs, an old seat of the Davenport family. One of the chambers retains its original wainscoting, arranged in panels, with a highly ornamented cornice. In this room there is an antique mantelpiece of wood, with the arms and crest of the Davenports upon it. In the entrance hall is fixed a group of spears, that have doubtless been the property of the Davenports of bygone days.

The party next drove to Thornycroft Hall, the seat of Mr. Charles Edward Thornycroft, passing Henshaw Hall, the old home of the Henshaws, on the way. Mr. Thornycroft received the party, conducted them over the grounds, which command some fine views of the range of hills separating Cheshire from Derbyshire, including Kerridge (Caer-ridge), Shutlings-low, Cloud End, and Mow Cop, and afterwards took them through the hall, in which there are preserved some excellent family portraits, including one or two by Lely. The Thornycroft family have been seated here for about six centuries, but their present home is comparatively modern, having been erected on the site of an earlier structure. From Thornycroft the party drove by way of Broken Cross and Upton to Prestbury.

Monday, August 6th, 1888.

TIDESWELL CHURCH.

On Bank-holiday, about forty members visited the Peak, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates. Leaving Manchester by the 9-40 express, the members on arriving at Miller's Dale were taken in carriages to Tideswell, which was reached shortly after eleven o'clock. Tideswell Church, "the cathedral of the Peak," was visited.

The Rev. Canon Andrew, after conducting the party round the edifice, gave an address. He said little was ascertainable

of the history of the church which preceded this present building. There are some traces of a former chancel on the eastern side of the present chancel arch. It is probable that the church which gave place to this large building was of much smaller proportions. It was at first a chapel under Hope, and became an independent parish church about the time of King John. It has had an unbroken connection with the Cathedral of Lichfield. The size of the church seems to have been determined, not merely by the number of inhabitants, but in great part by the existence of one or more guilds at Tideswell, before the north transept of the church received the Guild of St. Mary, as refounded under a charter from Richard II. in 1392. This charter throws great light upon the whole history of Tideswell Church. The date of the church might almost conclusively be fixed from a view of its ground plan. A more characteristic ground plan of a fourteenth-century church could not be found. The building was begun and completed in the reign of Edward III., and we shall not be far wrong in fixing on 1350 as the average date of this structure; the tower might still be going on in 1370. The date of the Foljambe brass in the chancel, 1358, is not inconsistent with this supposition. The church contains many interesting monuments—the fine brass of Bishop Pursglove, 1579; the tomb and brasses of Sir Sampson Meverill, in the centre of chancel, with emaciated stone figure underneath, 1462; and in the south transept chapel, the fine tomb and recumbent figures of Sir Thurstan de Bower and the Lady Margaret, his wife, restored in 1873. The Lytton Chapel, in the south transept, contains a slab with brasses of Sir Robert and Lady Isabella Lytton, date 1458. The present Lord Lytton takes his title from this family. The church consists of a nave eighty-two feet six inches in length, having a width, including the side aisles, of fifty-six feet three inches; of north and south transepts projecting sixteen feet beyond the aisles; of a south porch twelve feet two inches square, with a parvise or upper chamber over it; of a handsome west tower having a ground

plan of sixteen feet eight inches by sixteen feet; and of a chancel of unusually large dimensions, being sixty-two feet six inches in length, and an average of twenty-six feet in breadth. The delicacy yet boldness of the mouldings, the effective character of the buttresses, the grace of the tracery (especially of the transept windows), the finish of the parapets, and the proportion of the component parts, all combine in the production of a building of singular beauty, and one which it would be no easy task to equal by any of like size in the kingdom. The elaborately-painted eastern window of the chancel is a gift of a member of the Society, Mr. Cecil G. Saville Foljambe, M.P. The Foljambe brass in the chancel was renewed, at the same gentleman's cost, in 1875.

The members then drove through Middleton Dale to Eyam, and were met at the church by the Very Rev. Dr. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury, who conducted the members round the church and churchyard. When all were assembled, Mr. George C. Yates read a paper on the Desolation of Eyam by the Plague in the years 1665 and 1666.

On leaving the church one party went with the Dean of Canterbury to the rectory and inspected the registers, which begin in 1636, whilst the rest of the members went, under Mr. Yates's guidance, to Eyam Hall and Cucklett Dell to inspect the pulpit rock from which Mompesson preached during the plague. The members then drove by way of Foolow to Tideswell, and after tea at the George drove back to Miller's Dale, arriving in Manchester before nine o'clock.

Saturday, August 25th, 1888.

MELANDRA AND MOUSLOW CASTLES.

A party of thirty members, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Barlow, visited the Glossop district. From Mottram Station Mr. Barlow led the party through a quarry from which a view of a deep gorge in an outcrop of the millstone grit, along which the Etherow flows, was obtained; then by

pleasant field paths to the Hague, whence a magnificent view was obtained of the many hills on the other side of the Etherow valley. These included Ludworth Moor, the Coombs Rocks, Coomb End, Whiteley Nab, Worm Stones, Shire Hill, Shelf Hill, Nell's Pike, and Mouslow; while away to the left, on the northern side of the river, the view was bounded by Tintwistle Narrow and Hollingworth Moor. Descending to the river, which was crossed near Gamesley, the party approached the site of the Roman camp of Melandra. On the ascent to the camp they stayed to inspect the inscribed stone found at its east angle, and now built into the walls of a farmhouse, and which has on it an inscription, which has been amplified to read:—

COHORTIS PRIMÆ FRISIANORUM CENTURIO
VALERIUS VITALIS.

The Rev. John Watson, who discovered the camp in 1771, concludes that Melandra was a sister fort to that at Manchester, which was garrisoned by another part of the Frisian cohort.

At the camp Mr. Barlow pointed out a heap of stones taken out of the ground by the farmers in 1865, amongst them being the keystone of an arch and other stones belonging to the arch. In Mr. Watson's account of Melandra Castle in *Archæologia*, vol. iii., p. 236, he says: "It is situated, like many Roman stations, on moderately elevated ground, within the confluence of two rivers, and was well supplied with good water. Very fortunately the plough has not defaced it, so that the form cannot be mistaken. The ramparts, which have considerable quantities of hewn stone in them, seem to be about three yards broad. On two of the sides were ditches, of which part remains; the rest is filled up. On the other sides there are such declivities that there was no occasion for this kind of defence. On the north-east side, between the station and the water, great numbers of stones lie promiscuously, both above and under ground. There is also a subterraneous stream of water here, and a large bank of earth, which runs from the station to the river.

It seems very plain that on this and the north-west side have been many buildings, and these are the only places where they could safely stand because of the declivity between them and the two rivers. The extent of this station is about one hundred and twenty-two yards by one hundred and twelve. The four gates or openings into it are exceedingly visible, as is also the foundation of a building within the area, about twenty-five yards square, which, in all probability, was the Prætorium." The wall which encompassed the area was about three yards in thickness, and that which bounded the Prætorium about one yard and a half. Within the area several broken swords, a bronze battle-axe, and a coin of Domitian have been found. Fragments of Roman tiles and cement were picked up by some of the members. A plan of the castrum is given in *Archæologia*, vol. iii., and in Aikin's *Country Round Manchester*.

After leaving Melandra Castle, the members descended to the village at the foot of the hill; then ascended a hill on the other side of the valley, and soon arrived at the conical hill known as Mouslow Castle. The sides are clothed with dwarf elms and other trees of stunted growth, through the thick foliage of which the rays of the sun shone pleasantly. The encircling trench is distinctly traceable. The enclosure is grass grown, and, like every side of the hill, covered with timber. There are several large heaps of unhewn stones or rubble, overrun with a luxuriant growth of herbage. The layer of turf is so thin that the foot constantly comes in contact with the stones, none of which has the appearance of having been worked with the chisel. Judging from the sharpness of the curve at the north end, the enclosed area was oval. The absence of all other signs of man's workmanship has led Mr. Barlow to infer that this so-called "castle" was a British dune of the Stone Age. Mouslow answers to the description of hill forts given by Chambers both in appearance and position, and is a good example. The people of the neighbourhood know it traditionally as "The Castle." Man appears to have done more than nature

in obliterating; for the larger and better stones which served for the interior structures have apparently been carried away, and possibly used for building elsewhere. The remaining heaps of rubble resemble small cairns or tumuli.

Butterworth, in his *History of Glossop*, gives a short account of Mouslow as a place in which were traces of works of defence, but does not appear to have suspected that it was a British dune. Under the head of Melandra he notices the burrows known as the Mare's Back, at the foot of Coombs Tor, the upright stones (Robin Hood's Picking-rods), the ring stones, and two oval mounds (Robin Hood's Butts), all on Ludworth Moor. Butterworth also notices, in his *History of Mottram*, the numerous mounds in the Hague, which he regards as tumuli. Mr. Barlow said that if these mounds are not of natural origin, then the Hague is one of the richest places in England in sepulchral monuments of this kind.

Monday, August 27th, 1888.

TRAFFORD PARK AND HALL.

A party of the members, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, visited Trafford Hall on the invitation of Sir Humphrey F. de Trafford. Entering the Old Trafford entrance there is a direct rural walk of nearly four miles before the Barton gate is reached. Some fine old hawthorns, which stand by the carriage drive, have suffered from the Manchester smoke, and many of the fine-trunked oaks show painful signs of air poison in their upper branches. At the west end of the park there is some fine timber, such as oaks, elms, Spanish chestnuts, and beech trees. Some of the latter are models of perfection in trunk and branch. The ash flourishes amazingly. A great acquisition to the landscape is an avenue of sycamores and limes, planted about a century ago. Near the hall are some fine oaks. The common poplar revels by the side of the river and grows well. The woods afford good protection to all kinds of

game. Considering the short distance from Manchester the park is much better wooded than might be expected. The long reaches of green sward which stretch beneath the shady plantations and clusters of forest trees are very delightful to the eye, while fallow deer and grazing cattle find here food and shelter in peace and plenty. From the grounds there is an excellent view of the distant hills in Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Shropshire. On the right hand of the path is a clear view of the well-wooded Sandy Bank, which stretches for a couple of miles, and dips gradually from Pendleton to Eccles. Glimpses are also obtained of the Ship Canal works, several old mansions like Hope Hall, and more modern ones like Hart Hill and Buile Hill; while there are welcome breaks to the prospect in the church towers of Pendleton, Weaste, Hope, and Eccles, and the tower at the Hope Hospital. There are several rookeries in the park. A charming artificial lake, with a small islet, lends a welcome variety to the scene.

At one time the park was reached from the outside by ferries at Mode Wheel and the end of Salter's Lane. By the latter way the hall was within half a mile of Eccles Church, whereas it is now about three miles. According to the Ordnance survey Trafford Park is seven hundred and eight acres two roods and nine perches in area; it is nearly three miles and a half in length, and nearly a mile and a quarter across. The river Irwell bounds that side which lies against Manchester, Salford, and Eccles, and the Bridgewater Canal bounds the opposite side, so that it is as nearly as possible an island. Some part of the present park has been enclosed as far back as the time of the Norman Conquest, although there is no mention of it in Domesday Survey; but then there is no mention of any of the townships in the ancient parish of Eccles, in which parish much of the present park stands, the remainder being in the Stretford part of old Manchester parish. We find in the "Extent of the Manor of Manchester," in 1322, many references to the land at Trafford. One of these tells us that there is arable

land "in Trafford 20 a(cres) worth 6s. 8d." (Harland's *Mamecestre*, p. 382). Also that "Henry Trafford holds two carves of land in Trafforth by the service of 5s. yearly for all. And Hamo de Massey holds one carve of land in Tratforde by service of one judge. Hugh de Tratforde holds two oxgangs of land of the same by service of 4s." (*Ibid.*, p. 265). The park is referred to by Leyland and other old writers.

The family of Trafford lived for many centuries at the place now known as Old Trafford, from which it is probable the family originally took its name. It is a matter of some uncertainty when the family removed from the old hall, but the following, which are the earliest entries in the Eccles registers, will form some clue. The present hall is in Eccles old parish; the old hall was in Manchester parish. "Marriage, 1701. September 15th. Humphrey Trafford, gentleman, and Mary Ashton, eldest daughter of Sir Ralph Ashton, of Middleton. Births, 1703, August 29th. Humphrey, son of Mr. Humphrey Traiford. 1705, March 31. Cecill, son of Mr. Humphrey Traiford. 1706, September 30, Mary, daughter of Mr. Humphrey Traiford, of Whigleswick." It has been supposed that the quaint ivy-clad Tudor gables of the present hall are portions of the old manor house of Whiggleswick. The modern part, and by far the most imposing portion of the structure, was built in 1762, the foundation stone having been laid by the great-grandfather of the present baronet when a boy. It has three faces, standing nearly south, west, and east, the old portion being attached to the other quarter. On the north-west part of the grounds are the ornamental gardens; and a handsome glass-house, filled with choice blooming plants, overlooks the ornamental grounds. The extensive kitchen gardens are in the rear of these.*

On arriving at the hall the members were received by Sir Humphrey de Trafford and his visitors, amongst whom

* The above is taken from an account written in 1882 by the late Mr. Edward Kirk.

were Mr. Bromley-Davenport, M.P., and Mr. Ernest Hatch. The members were shown all the art treasures, consisting of choice specimens of Capo da Monti, Dresden, and other china. The walls are covered with many rare paintings, by Jacob van Artois, Teniers, Calvert, T. S. Cooper, F. R. Lee, Keeling, and Richard Ansdell. Among others were The Four Elements, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water, by Breughel; The Artist and his Wife, by Michel van Musscher; The Madonna and Child, by Stefano Legnani; The Holy Family, by Pellegrino Tibaldi; The Annunciation, by Carlo Dolce; The Woman of Samaria, by Giorgione; and the Holy Family, by Andrea del Sarto.

After tea a vote of thanks was passed to Sir Humphrey for his hospitality, on the motion of Archdeacon Anson, seconded by Mr. H. H. Sales. The party then visited the gardens, conservatories, and stables under the guidance of their host.

Monday, September 3rd, 1888.

ANCOATS ART MUSEUM.

A meeting of the members was held at the Art Museum, Ancoats Old Hall, under the presidency of Alderman Walton Smith. Prior to the meeting the members made an inspection of the museum.

The Chairman, in the course of an opening address, said he was proud of the advancement which had taken place in the district of Ancoats. He had seen soldiers drawn up across Great Ancoats Street, and riots frequently occurred, and the reason was the people were so poor, so badly housed, and food was so very dear, that they at times destroyed property in their despair, and tried to set fire to mills. He believed that the antidote to that sad condition of things was the social improvements promoted by the benevolent and thoughtful people of the present generation.

Mr. George Milner was then called upon to move a vote of condolence with the family of the late Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., a late member of the council. He said his only fear, in proposing the resolution, was that he could only in a very unworthy manner discharge the duty which had been placed in his hands; but no man could feel more than he did the loss which they had sustained. They were all shocked when they heard of Mr. Bailey's death, notwithstanding that, by his long illness, they were to some extent prepared for it; but against hope they had been hoping that perhaps, after all, his life might be spared. Mr. Bailey's personality was one which we could ill afford to lose. We had not too many men of his character. He had often wondered how such a man found a congenial home in a place like Manchester. Mr. Bailey gave character and colour to society in Manchester, and he did not know any one who exactly filled the same place. All eulogy seemed poor and almost out of place when we thought of the friend who was dead; but a word or two must be given. As they all knew, Mr. Bailey was, at any rate, a ripe scholar and a Christian gentleman. His knowledge, he believed, was always thorough. It was not a smattering of knowledge that Mr. Bailey possessed. Whatever subjects he took up he thoroughly and carefully worked out. He (Mr. Milner) was quite sure they would all agree with him when he said that he had that one quality which was pretty sure to accompany thoroughness in any direction, and that was the inestimable gift of modesty. He was a wonderfully modest man. He always seemed to love learning for its own sake, and not for what it would bring. It was his delight simply to keep on learning. More than that, he not only loved learning, but no man was more ready to give up all he possessed to others. He never knew a man more willing to take pain and care in order to make one acquainted with something in which he thought we might happen to be interested. Send him the slightest inquiry upon any subject, and he would sit down and write a long letter

which would at once call up in their minds a feeling of wonder as to how he could find time to write it. He had had many such epistles; but not only would Mr. Bailey do that, but, like a kindly and generous man, he was ever thinking what those things were that interested his friends, and, without asking, he would take the trouble to write to one upon any such subject which he thought might be of interest. His own acquaintance with Mr. Bailey was, of course, in connection—more than in any other way—with the Manchester Literary Club. They were always glad to see Mr. Bailey there, because he had not only antiquarian proclivities and antiquarian knowledge, but he had the literary instinct; and whenever he came to read a paper there was always about it the grace of style and the playful humour which made it acceptable to men interested in literature, apart altogether from the subject which he had in hand. Above all these things, however, he was eminently a loveable man. No doubt he received often the admiration for which he but little cared; but that was not all. He thought there were none who admired him—certainly there were none who knew him—who did not love him. He was a sincere man; he was a good man. There often seemed to him (Mr. Milner) to be something of the saintliness of the seventeenth century about their dear friend. He, himself, had at that moment only one regret, and that was that too many and too pressing occupations forbade him to spend in Mr. Bailey's presence so long a time as he could have wished. He could only say that, now he was gone, he had left behind him a beautiful, a fragrant, and a precious memory, and whenever in the years to come they thought of John Eglington Bailey, it would not be with painful regret, but with sorrow tempered by the recollection of his goodness.

Mr. Robert Langton seconded the resolution, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. T. C. Horsfall gave an address on the objects of the committee of the Ancoats Art Museum. He said that

work had one aspect under which it might claim the interest and esteem of the Antiquarian Society. It possessed that aspect in virtue of the fact that one of the great objects of the formers and maintainers of the museum was to prevent the people of the large towns being deprived of certain most wholesome influences that had been enjoyed by mankind from the earliest ages up to the present century. From the earliest times men had lived in direct contact with nature, and we could not contemplate, without terror, the fact that the people of large towns, unless great efforts were made to prevent it, must necessarily live in ignorance of the life of nature. At a recent examination of children in an elementary Manchester school, the young people knew nothing of a bee, and could not say where it was to be found. Those who had founded that museum did so to help to bring back the knowledge of nature to the people brought under its influence, by means of the museum itself, and by the system connected with the museum. The committee hoped eventually to extend the work into every elementary school in Manchester and Salford. It had always been a part of their scheme to loan small collections of beautiful flowers, or of interesting birds, or of pictures of beautiful scenery and historical events, to elementary schools, and to connect these as closely as possible with the larger collections in the museum itself, by means of descriptions and printed and written notes placed at the foot of the pictures lent to the schools. They tried to present nature to the people as truthfully as they could, and they hoped the result would be that the people would go out into the country and try to see the trees and flowers whose representations they had been able to inspect in the museum. Then they sought to impart a knowledge of the manner in which pictures were produced, the mechanical methods which every artist employed, and the means adopted for the reproduction of pictures, such as wood engraving and lithography. They endeavoured to give lessons on the history of art, which was necessary to those

who wished to understand the respective beauty of the paintings of different ages.

Mr. George Esdaile gave a short address, in the course of which he exhibited and explained two rubbings from ancient brass inscriptions in the Cathedral relating to the Mosley family.

Mr. A. Nicholson proposed, and Mr. Registrar Francis Smith seconded a vote of thanks to Alderman Walton Smith for presiding, and to Mr. Horsfall for his address. This motion was duly carried, and the proceedings terminated.

Saturday, October 6th, 1888.

VISIT TO THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM.

A visit was paid by a large number of members to the Manchester Museum at Owens College, upon the invitation of Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. After inspecting the interesting geological exhibits in the lower rooms of the museum, the party proceeded to the upper rooms of the building to hear an address from Professor Dawkins upon the museum and its work.

Professor Boyd Dawkins said he wished to take the opportunity of pointing out the method of arrangement which had been adopted in the section of the museum which represented the history of the Tertiary world and its inhabitants, and which was the only portion of the museum which concerned them as students of the ancient history of man. At the first outlook they might fancy that the subject of archæology had no place whatever in a natural history museum. It seemed to him that the question was a question which requires some explanation. It was answered in his own case at all events by practical experience. He had found that in the course of his inquiry into the history of the earth, in dealing with the Tertiary period, that it is absolutely impossible to keep the history of man out of the later periods of the geological record. He had, therefore,

been compelled to organise a portion of the museum in which man found himself recorded in his first coming on the earth, and also in various stages of progress in which he is represented by the implements which are found in various strata. Further than that, when he came to inquire into the history of the rocks themselves, he found that there were strata belonging to the period included in history. For that reason he had been compelled not only to deal with palæolithic man as a fossil, and as truly a fossil as the Pleistocene mammals by which he was surrounded, but also to place in the museum a small collection of implements, ornaments, and weapons and other articles representing the state of civilisation in the Historic period. Such then was his justification for putting anything of the nature of archæological specimens into the Tertiary section. He put them there because they form part of the ancient history of the earth. The Tertiary division of the history of the earth begins with the Eocene and ends with the Tertiary period, and the successive stages are marked by the various collections on the east side of the first floor of the museum. Drawing their attention to a few of the most important points which concerned them as students of the ancient condition of man, he referred to a group of animals and shells and a quantity of flint splinters found on the banks of the ancient Thames, at Crayford, in the neighbourhood of London, when the river wended its way on the one hand into Essex and on the other hand into Kent. Those bones and other materials gave them a picture of the life of the times. When they saw the tusks of elephants, the remains of the Irish elk, the bison, the ox, and other animals, all lying side by side, and when they saw along with them splinters of flints which have been struck off in the manufacture of flint instruments, they observed at once the surroundings under which man first of all made his appearance in Britain in the Pleistocene age. They would notice a small group of river shells in this period, among which was one species (Corbicula fluminalis) now only to

be found in the Nile and other rivers of the south and the east. Accompanying this group of remains he had prepared a small sketch of the primeval man sitting on the banks of the Thames, chopping his flint instruments, and holding his own among the strange and remarkable group of animals with which he was surrounded. Next they came to the Palæolithic instruments of the river gravels, representing a primeval condition out of which mankind has been removed for incalculable ages. When he told them those instruments were found over the greater part of this country, the whole of France, over the whole of the borders of the Mediterranean, in Africa and in Europe, and Palestine, and when, further, exactly that type of instrument occurs also in India, he thought they would realise the interest which centres in implements which imply the same rude condition of barbarism over the whole of Europe west of the Rhine, over the whole of the Mediterranean region, as well as in the jungles and forests of India. Then came next the period of the Cave-Men. In the caverns were found the bones of the horse, the rhinoceros, the reindeer, the hippopotamus, all brought in by the hyenas; and in association with them were to be found a whole series of remains proving the existence of man in Yorkshire, Somerset, and Devonshire. Among these remains was the picture of a horse engraved on a polished bit of bone, which might be looked upon as the very earliest specimen of art which they had found in Britain. There were also photographs and sketches and casts of engravings and sculptures from the foreign caves. In the prehistoric period they would see an excellent collection of polished stone axes from Greece, about which he was amused to read a short time ago, that none had ever been found in that part of the world. Those that were in the museum were collected by Mr. Finlay, a well-known resident in Athens. There was also a collection of things from Switzerland, which proved that the arts of spinning and weaving, of husbandry, and of pottery making were introduced into Europe in the Neolithic age. They would also see evidence

of the introduction of the domestic animals, the sheep, goats, pigs, oxen, horses, and dogs, all coming in with the primeval Neolithic farmer. In another part of the case they would see proof that the Neolithic peoples were acquainted with the art of mining, in a collection which he had obtained from an ancient flint mine in Sussex. Not only that, but they would see a few human skeletons of the people who introduced these arts into Europe, the people who are living to this day in the shape of the small dark Welsh, the Irish, and the small dark Highlander. He might say further that some of those people are to be found now in Yorkshire, in Derbyshire, and he had no doubt that the blood of those people might be found in the veins of some of those around him that afternoon. The remainder of these are found in the alluvia in the deposits of the ancient rivers, and in the peat bogs as well as in tombs. Going a stage further they came to the Bronze age, in which were to be found samples of the domestic animals. There was a very curious thing to be noted in the group of human skulls found along with them. Some two years ago Mr. H. D. Pochin, a well-known resident of Salford, asked him (Professor Dawkins) to undertake the exploration of a cavern called Gop, crowning a hill south of the Vale of Clywdd. In a sepulchral cavern close by they found a stone chamber full of human remains. The skulls were of the long type belonging to the small dark Neolithic race he had referred to, but there was one skull which belonged to the conquering race who introduced bronze into this country, and who were indistinguishable from the Celt, being altogether a bigger and stouter race than the small dark Welsh. So that they had two distinct types associated together in the sepulchre belonging to the Bronze Age. They had also other examples of the Bronze Age. He took this opportunity of calling the attention of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society to the extreme poverty of bronze implements in the museum. He should welcome any additions to this part of the collection, and be exceedingly grateful for any help that he could get

in filling this blank. Passing from the prehistoric they now came to the collection which represents the historic period; first and foremost among which they found an interesting number of things from Egypt. They had a most remarkably preserved group of mummies, found recently by Mr. Flinders Petrie, and presented to the Museum by Mr. Jesse Haworth. Two are of a period which ranges from about Anno Domini to two hundred years before Christ; while the third is of an early Greek type, which was found in Egypt, and dates from A.D. to about 150 A.D. The interest of the last was exceedingly great from an artistic point of view. On the head of the mummy was a most excellently preserved portrait of the occupant. The preservation was simply marvellous; the art singularly excellent; and the discovery altogether an important one. All these three mummies had been found in a deposit of sand near the ancient city of Arsinoe, and they represented burials which took place from time to time of the citizens of that great city. They would also see in the Historic room specimens from Babylonia, Rome, Australia, the South Sea Islands, Mexico, and North America. In conclusion Professor Boyd Dawkins said that, of course, naturally after the examination of ancient history of the earth, when they had closed their record at the historic period, they there had full scope for the working out of the history of animals and of the plants to which the rest of that part of the museum was devoted. They had, in other words, a philosophical arrangement showing the gradual evolution of things in the Tertiary ages which is still going on, and which finds expression in the history of the present surface of the earth and of the living animals, including man, and of the living plants.

Professor Boyd Dawkins, who delivered his address as he proceeded round the cases, was listened to with much interest; and a hearty vote of thanks was passed to him on the motion of Mr. W. E. A. Axon, seconded by Mr. H. H. Sales.

Friday, October 12th, 1888.

The opening meeting of the winter session was held at Chetham's College; Mr. William E. A. Axon, F.R.S.L., in the chair. Mr. Charles W. Sutton was elected an honorary member of the society in recognition of his services as editor of the annual volume of transactions during the last four years.

Mr. J. B. Robinson exhibited a number of photographs of the district of the Roman Wall and a few taken in Ireland.

Mr. G. H. Rowbotham exhibited a portfolio of drawings and engravings of churches and halls in Cheshire.

Mr. John Owen showed a letter from Brettargh, a Manchester rebel of 1745.

Mr. George Esdaile exhibited a stone cornice of the Doric order found on the banks of the Medlock, attributing its origin to the Roman times.

Mr. C. W. Sutton laid on the table a recently issued volume of *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, one of the Rolls Office publications. Mr. H. H. Howorth, M.P., had drawn his attention to a letter there printed from Thomas Stanley, priest, to Lord Darcy, and dated 11th October, 1536, in which it was stated that "this week past, Manchester College should have been pulled down and there would have been a rising, but the commissioners recoiled." This, he said, referred to the disturbance known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, a revolt against the authority of Thomas Cromwell and the progress of the Reformation. The insurrection was carried on chiefly in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire, and the volume contained many interesting documents referring to the outbreak. Mr. Froude in his *History of England* made good use of the original documents, but he by no means exhausted the materials. There was great fear on the part of the people at the time that the parish churches and religious houses would have been dismantled and destroyed, as many religious houses

were. This fear prevailed at Manchester, but according to the letter now quoted the commissioners of Cromwell recoiled on account of the uprising of the people against the measure.

The Chairman then delivered the opening address of the winter session. He thought they might all congratulate themselves upon the continued and growing interest of the proceedings of this Society. There were few of those who took part in the formation of the Society six years ago who anticipated it would have grown so rapidly as it had done, and that it would have been enabled in that time to do so much useful and substantial archæological work. There were some he knew who, at the foundation of the Society, were not very sanguine as to what was possible to be done. Some thought the ground was already covered by the Historic Society, but the experience of six years had shown that while they had a vigorous and active Antiquarian Society, they had not in the slightest degree detracted from the work that had been done by the Historic Society. Certainly the Historic Society is in a much more lively and vigorous condition now than it was in 1883, when, as some thought, the Antiquarian Society started as a rival to it. If they had been rivals in any degree the competition had been a friendly one. The subjects that had been brought before the Society during the six years of its existence, and the subjects that would be brought before them during the present session were a sufficient proof of the widening interest that is now taken in England in archæological pursuits, and also of the greater variety of subjects that are felt to belong fittingly to the scope of such a society as theirs. A hundred years ago, or even less, the antiquary was a favourite object of ridicule by some persons, and even some of the greatest English writers had not disdained to poke a little good-humoured fun at what they thought were the fables and foibles of the antiquary. Some of them would remember Pope's lines:—

> With sharpened sight pale antiquaries pore,
> Th' inscription value, but the rust adore,
> This the blue varnish, that the green endears;
> The sacred rust of twice ten hundred years.

That represents a type of antiquary extinct now; and the archæologist of the present day might certainly take the old and hackneyed motto of Terence. The antiquary claimed all that belonged to man's past history; and this gave to archæology a distinct place in the classification of human knowledge and its followers a right to pursue it not only as a speculative study, but as a definite scientific branch of research. Whatever remained of the past, whatever pertains to the history of man, to his architecture, his arts, his bygone religions, social and industrial condition—all these came within the scope of a society such as theirs; and those studies not only had an interest in themselves, but often had a very considerable practical value and bearing upon the problems of the present day. This was perhaps more true of England than almost of any other country, for our institutions had their roots sunk deep down in the soil of the national history; and whoever would fully understand the problems of to-day must understand the past history of their institutions. When he had done that, he might even be able to forecast the future. He was glad to see that the present home of the Antiquarian Society was in Chetham's College, and he hoped that they who had, so to speak, a partial tenancy of the building would be able to render as good service to the community, according to their light, as the old inhabitants of the building did in their day and generation.

Mr. Ernest Axon then read a paper on Lancashire and Cheshire Admissions to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see p. 74).

Mr. C. W. Sutton congratulated Mr. Ernest Axon upon his careful investigation of the subject he had treated, and thought the paper would be of very considerable value when printed in the *Transactions*.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon read a paper dealing with Henry Ainsworth, the Puritan Annotator (see p. 42).

New members elected: Sir Humphrey De Trafford, Miss Watt, of Speke Hall, Mr. Ernest Axon, Mr. T. E. Tatton, of Wythenshawe Hall, Mr. George Larmuth.

Friday, November 2nd, 1888.

Meeting held at Chetham's College. Mr. J. P. Earwaker presided.

Mr. G. H. Rowbotham exhibited a number of interesting sketches and engravings of Chester.

Mr. G. H. Larmuth exhibited a curious old Scotch mull of unknown date.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a number of stones, among which were examples of witch and slick stones. In describing these stones, he said a belief in the virtues of "lucky stones," or pebbles with a hole through them or with a band around them, is still widely spread, and many people will remember the incantation—

> Lucky stone, lucky stone, bring me some luck,
> To-day or to-morrow by twelve o'clock.

In Scotland such a stone is called a "witch stone," and is hung up in the byres as a protection for the cattle. The same is the case in some parts of England. In the museum at Leicester is a "witch stone" from Wymeswold, a pebble with a natural hole towards one end, which had been preserved for many generations in one family, and had great virtues attributed to it. It prevented the entrance of fairies into the dairy; it preserved milk from taint; it kept off diseases and charmed off warts; and seems to have been valuable alike to man and beast. Stones remarkable either for their colour or shape appear at all times to have attracted the attention of mankind, and frequently to have served as personal adornments or charms among those to whom the

more expensive and civilised representations of such primitive jewellery, such as now rank as precious stones, were either unknown or inaccessible. One of the purposes to which the "slickstone" seems to have been applied was in the varnishing or smoothing of leather, somewhat in the same manner as is now effected by the flat-iron. It is well known that in the north of Ireland weavers used a small celt whenever they could find one for rubbing on the cloth, bit by bit as they worked it, to close the threads and give a gloss to the surface. The old English name for the smooth stones used for such purposes is "slick-stone." In former times polished stone implements in the form of a muller were used to smooth linen, paper, and the like, and likewise for the operation termed calendering. A polished flint is still used for producing a brilliant surface on some kinds of coloured papers which are known as "flint-glazed."

Mr. William Harrison read a paper upon Commons Inclosures in Lancashire and Cheshire in the Eighteenth Century (see p. 112).

A short discussion followed, in which the Chairman and Messrs. W. Norbury, Albert Nicholson, and C. T. Tallent-Bateman took part.

Mr. George Esdaile read the following paper upon the Burghs in Chester: The subject of the title of this paper is one which will well repay a careful examination, and, strange to say, it has hitherto escaped notice. In its study we can pursue our enquiries in many directions, as to the various and varying areas of the city, the borough, the bishop's burgh, the earl's burgh, the ealderman's burgh, and at the same time make an endeavour to ascertain what comparison can be made between them. One of the earliest and perhaps one of the most conclusive books on the subject is that record—compiled or revised by order of the Conqueror, *Domesday Book*—in which (fol. 262*b*) we find that in the list of manors within the area of Cheshire there is mention of only one burgh (other than the bishop's burgh in Chester), and that burgh is strangely denominated a city—Chester—

with, as might be expected, a very lengthy return, and giving us many examples of the presence and operation of the Saxon laws. On reference we find that although the *burgh* of Chester is called a *city*, some of the lands which were appurtenant to the city were beyond the limits of the walls, as well as beyond the limits of an ancient survey (*temp.* Edward III.), and these appurtenant lands consisted of three hides and a half; and, as if to emphasise the statement, the matter is carefully tabulated and further explained in the record: "That is one hide and a half beyond the bridge and two hides in Neutone and Redeclive and in the Bishop's burgh. These are rateable for geld with the city." Now from this we learn that there was a bishop's burgh, which has not yet been accounted for in any way. I think that it must have its origin assigned to Saxon times, most probably before the building of the Cathedral Church of St. John, Chester, when a certain but now possibly forgotten area given to the Saxon bishop was known as a burgh, for we can scarcely imagine such an important place as Chester without a bishop. That there is a possibility of this as the origin is hinted in the twenty-first section of the laws of Edward the Confessor, which relates to the lords spiritual and temporal (archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons), and all who have sac and soc, thol, them, and infangthef—who are all to have their own soldiers and proper servants, as dish-bearers, a cup-bearer, purse-bearers, chamberlains, bakers, cooks, &c., under their own free pledge; so that if they incur any forfeiture, and a hue and cry is raised against them, the lords shall hold them to right in their own courts (Bracton). That the Bishop of Chester had all or most of the above rights, privileges, or usages attaching to a borough may be gathered from the recitation in the Rolls of Parliament (I. 15*b*) A.D. 1290 (and mentioned more fully hereafter), which materially strengthens and confirms the general statement in *Domesday Book*, that "In Cheshire the Bishop of the said City holds of the King, what belongs to his bishopric." He must therefore have held in capite, or in free alms; he held, how-

ever, in the former manner, and possessed full powers within his own lands. A perusal of the Laws of Ina clears up much on this head. Section forty-five (Laws of Ina, A.D. 688-726), relating to the breach of the peace of the burgh—"burh-breache"—directs that one hundred and twenty shillings were to be paid. If it were the place at which the king, the bishop, or the ealderman lived, eighty shillings; if a minister of the king, sixty shillings. From this the question naturally arises, was the ealderman a minister of the Earl of Mercia? Section forty-six also relates to a breach of the peace, and reference is made to the burgh or town of the ealderman. Section thirty-six (Laws of Alfred) orders severe punishment for breach of the peace of the king's burgh, as well as that of the archbishop's, bishop's, and ealdermen. It may be accepted, then, that this burgh of the bishop was that part of Chester over which his franchise extended. We know from *Domesday Book* that the bishop had his officer, the earl his minister, and the king his legate, to watch the affairs of the city on their respective behalfs. Before suggesting the situation of the sites of the burghs, it would be well to take a survey of them all. Let us now take the castle as the caput of the temporal power. The nineteenth section (Laws of Edward the Confessor) points out that every city is a borough, but that every borough is not a city; and that the castle, whether of a city or borough, was distinct from it, as many yet existing abundantly show. It is the case at Chester, at Canterbury, at Wallingford, where the borough existed before the castle; at Oakhampton, also, the castle was separate from the borough. In the acts of Earl Ethelred and of Elfreda his countess, anno Christ. 908, we read: "Ethelred and his Countess restored Caerleon, that is Legecestria, now called Chester, after it was destroyed by the Danes, and enclosed it with new walls, and made it nigh such two as it was before; so that the castle, that was sometime by the water without the walls, is now in the town within the walls" (see also Malms. *de Gestis Regem.* ii. 4; Trevisa's *Poly.* vi. 4; also Flor. and M. of Westminster; Hoveden gives the date

as 905 A.D.); so that the Norman earls did not first erect the castle and walls; probably the Conqueror might re-edify the castle, as we gather—"In excerpta ex Orderico Vitali, Maseres, pp. 228-30. Tandem exercitum incolumen usque Cestram perduxit, et in tota Merciorum regione motus hostiles Regia vi compescuit. Tunc Cestriæ—munitionem condidit." This, according to Maseres, was about Easter, 1070, after William the Conqueror had subdued the rebels of Cheshire, who had joined with a body of Welshmen in besieging Shrewsbury in the preceding year, 1069, when the Danish army was in England. The earls of Chester of the Norman line (and their men) held of the king, wholly, all that part of the city which was not in the hands of the bishop; the latter also held of the king. In Helsby's *Orm.* i. 201-2, we have a transcript of the Charter of the Black Prince as given in Stone's MSS., in which Edward, Prince of Wales, son of Edward III., confirmed to the citizens of Chester their former liberties and charters, and sets forth, by special names, the boundaries of the city of Chester: A Clavertonlode ex oppositio Pontis ferrei, et sic ascendendo per quoddam sichetum usque Green ditch, similiter vocatum le Mer ditch, sequendo illud fossatum usque quandam viam ducit de Bromfield versus Cestriam usque Old ditch juxta quandam marleram, et sic sequendo fossatum illud versus partem borealem usque ad viam quæ ducit versus partes occidentales, in terram Roberti de Bradford, et terram Michaelis Scott, usque ad caput fossati illius, et sic sequendo terram Roberti de Bradford, ad terram priorissæ et monialium Cestriæ, quæ quidem terra fuit prius Thomæ d'arriers et deinde sequendo quoddam sichetum usque ad quandam viam quæ ducit de Cestria versus Kynarton, et ultra viam ad Villam de Lache, et sic per medium villæ illius ex parte borealis usque Lond-pole in Saltney, similiter vocat. Blakepoole, et sic sequendo illud Poole usque ad aquam de Dee, descendendo in eandem aquam apud le-Poole-bridge, et sic sequendo rivulum ex altera parte usque ad le Stonebridge, et deinde usque ad le Bache poole, usque ad quod-

dam sichetum vocatum Flookersbrook, usque Bispeditche (Bishopditch) et sic sequendo illud versus partes orientales, et postea sequendo illud fossatum versus partes orientales, et postea sequendo illud fossatum versus partem australem, usque viam quæ ducit de Stanford Bridge versus Cestriam, sequendo * viam de Cest. versus Torporly, sequendo viam illam demittendo grangiam Leprosam ex parte orientali usque in le Hollow way, quæ duct usque Pother Bach subtus montem aquæ de Dee, et sic sequendo ripam aquæ illius usque Hunstenton Wood, et deinde usque ad partem finem. In vol. i., p. 371, Helsby's *Orm.*, in an inquisition 14 Henry IV., relating to city lands, after reciting the above charter down to *, there is added—Stanford Bridge towards Chester, following the way to the ditch on the east part of the chapel of Boghton on the way to Torpurlegh, and so, &c., to the Leper's Grange to Puttesbache, under the hill by water of Dee. These boundaries will be seen from the map exhibited. According to the Report of the Commission on the Boundaries of Boroughs and Corporate Towns, 1837, we find that "the city of Chester now comprises the whole of the parishes of St. Bridget, St. John Baptist, St. Martin, St. Michael, St. Olave, and St. Peter; parts of the parishes of St. Mary, St. Oswald, and Holy Trinity, and the precincts of the Cathedral close, which is extra parochial." The Parliamentary Commissioners, 1837, recommended the addition of a portion of the township of Great Boughton. Such was the city of that date. In the time of the making of the *Domesday Book* (Cest. 262*b*), we find that there was a manor of Chester *without the city*, and that also there was a borough in Chester. "The land in which is the church of St. Peter, which Robert de Rodeland claimed as thane-land (as the county proved), never belonged to the manor without the city, but belongs to the borough and always was within the custom of the king and the earl, as the other burgesses." As thane-lands were granted by charter of the Saxon kings to the thanes, and were held with all immunities except the threefold necessity of expeditions, repairs of castles, and

mending of bridges; pertinent to this point we find in the claim of Robert de Rodeland evidence of his desire to free this land from *the customs of the king and the earl*, and not to be *as the other burgesses* (Jacob's *Dictionary*). According to Blount (see also Blackstone's *Com.*, iv. 114), "*city* is a word which hath obtained since the Conquest; for in the time of the Saxons there were no cities, but all great towns were called burghs; and even London was then styled London-burgh, as the capital of Scotland is now called Edinburgh. And long after the Conquest the word city is used promiscuously with burgh, as in the charter of Leicester 'tis called both civitas et burgus, which shows that those are mistaken who tell us that every city is a bishop's see; and though the word city signifies with us a town corporate, as hath usually a bishop and a cathedral, yet 'tis not always so." There were, as we know, the eight barons of the Norman palatinate, but in *Domesday Book* (fol. 262*b*) we find that there were also "twelve judges of the city, and that these were for the king, the bishop, and the earl." These were officers of some importance, as may be gleaned from the amount of the fine; for if one of these absented himself from the hundred court on the day of sitting he forfeited ten shillings to the king and the earl. From the laws of Edward the Elder (901–924), sec. i., we read "that in certain disputes a jury of six was impanelled; that six men shall be named from the 'burh-shire' where the man had his home (de viceneto) to decide between the disputants." We well know that the great divisions of the country were called shires, and that in a county or shire there might still be other shires (as Salfordshire and others in Lancashire) within its area; but from this extract we glean that at that date there was a port with a reeve (see also *Leg. Athelst.*, sec. 12-13, and *Leg. Cnut.*, sec. 22), a port-reeve presiding over a "burh-shire," which was evidently an older form of the *county of the city*, the shire of the port (town) of Chester. Another question arises: Were these twelve consisting of six for the bishop's burgh and six for

the earl's burgh? We might be led to think that this number points to the *jury of twelve;* but as the laws of Edgar (950–975) fixed the number of the jury at thirty-three, and only twelve in small boroughs, we should, I think, take these twelve men to be of a somewhat higher status than an ordinary jury, as they were nominees of two if not three independent bodies. It is also possible that they were the "commune concilium," which existed as well before the Conquest as after (Squire, 261 note. King's *Vale Royal*, 9-11). It should also be remembered that from 940–946 it is ordained in the laws of Edmund that it was the duty of the bishop to be present with the ealderman in their courts (*Hen. Hist.*, iii. 262 and *Spel. Concil.*, l. 401), therefore these twelve might be six from each burgh, as has been previously surmised. From the Rolls of Parliament (i. 15*b*), 13 Edward I. (A.D. 1290), we learn that the manors of the churches of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield, and all lands, and all the bishop's men, were free from the action of the Forest Laws, as granted by King Richard to Hugh Bishop of Chester. The "manor of the Church of Chester" was possibly the bishop's "burh shire," possessing "in perpetuum libera sint et quieta de murdro et Latrocino et shir' et Hundr' et de sectis shir' et Hundr' et de auxiliis Vic' de Foresta et placitis Foreste, de vastis et assartis, rewardis foreste et omnibus aliis operibus tam castellorum quam vivar' et stagnorum et omnibus Placitis et omnibus Querelis." I believe that this church property or bishop's burh-shire in Chester, attached to the ancient see of Chester, was in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral, in that portion of the city bounded by Foregate Street, the bishop's ditch, the river Dee, and the fosse of the walled burh; and in support of this we find that one of the franchises of the bishop's burh-shire is mentioned in *Petitions to Parliament*, ii. 26*b*, where we read the following in a petition in Norman-French: "To our lord the King and his Council from his chaplain the Bishop of Chester, that as his predecessors Bishops of Chester have time out of mind to grant leave (aver tien

fraunchise) to their tenants in the Foregate Street in the suburbs of Chester to have horse-mills and handmills for grinding their corn and their 'brees;' whereas lately the Farmer of the mills and the servants of our lord the King in Chester have obliged the tenants of the said Bishop to grind at the King's Mills against his wish and greatly to the damage of the said Bishop and loss to his Church, may it please Our Lord the King herein to order a remedy thereof." Whether these houses in Foregate Street "being in a row or street close to one another formed the ancient 'borhoe'" (borough) or not, is open to conjecture, but the site is within the area mentioned (*Bract.* iii., tract 2, cap. 10; and Swire, *Ang. Sax.*, 236, &c.). As there is evidently an omission of the statement of the actual contents of the city, it being *rated for geld* for fifty hides, it is now impossible to attempt to reconcile the rating statement with the unstated area. It is certain that the area of the city *(temp. Domesday Book)* would not be as large as the city of the fourteenth century. Let us repeat an extract given before, that there were three and a half hides (of the fifty just mentioned) *outside* the city's area, those were the one and a half beyond the bridge, and the two in Neutone and in Redeclive and in the bishop's burgh. Let us endeavour to discover the locality of these three and a half hides. If we take the entry in *Domesday Book* relating to Bruge (Handbridge, as Mr. Beamont opines), we have only one carucate *rateable to geld* in the possession of Wm. Fitz Nigel, and another single carucate *rateable to geld* and held by Hugh de Mara, two carucates in all. As to the land belonging to the see of Chester, in Redeclive, which (Helsby's *Ormerod*, i. 372) was on the opposite part of the shore, under St. John's Church, which in *Domesday Book* is stated to be held by the Bishop of Chester, who also held T. R. E., and which consists of two parts of a hide; and further on we read that Hugh de Mara has in Redeclive one third part of a hide. Taking, therefore, the two carucates in Bruge, plus the two parts of a hide, plus the one third part of a hide held by de Mara, plus the

one hide in Neutone *rateable to danegeld*, and even if we add the two bovates in St. Mary's Monastery, then waste and lying near St. John's, we do not make up the three and a half hides. There are therefore but two conclusions, either that these entries in the record are *rateable* and not reliable statements, or that some places have been omitted, as was also the area of the bishop's burgh. It is not possible that the *eight houses in the city* belonging to the canons could be included, as they would stand upon some portion of the other forty-six and a half rateable hides, unless they were examples of the arbitrary rule of making a county or a part of one, lie within another. I think it is evident that both the shire, *i.e.*, the county proper, the county of the city, the burgh, the burh shire, the castle, and the city, have been the subjects of special enactments both before the Norman Conquest, in Saxon times, as in the mediæval period, as the following entry will show, "and I find that the castle with the precincts thereof, were reserved out of that charter of King Henry VII., by which the city was made a county of itself; and accordingly hath ever since been used for the king's majesties service of the county of Chester, and esteemed a part thereof and *not* of the county of the city" (Helsby's *Ormerod*, i. 186). Having looked at the subject from these various points of view, the questions that naturally arise are, what were the areas of the burgh or city at the various periods—pagan, Romano-Christian, pagan-Saxon, Saxon-Christian, Norman, and medieval. To take the last first, it had the boundaries that I have given, and which roughly encircled an area of thirteen miles round, with an average radius of a mile and a half from the Watergate as a centre. The Norman city was much smaller and practically of the same size as in the days of the Confessor, when it was *rated only, not measured* for Dane-geld for fifty hides; and three and a half of these outside the city—that is, one hide and a half beyond the bridge, and two hides in Neutone and Redeclive and in the bishop's burgh; from this entry we know that the city did not extend beyond the bridge, and

that Neutone, Redeclive, and the bishop's burgh were also beyond the limits of the city. As to Saxon times, we have heard the proof that castles were not included in cities, and that, whatever may have been the results of intermediate legislation, the castle and precincts were excepted from the city and esteemed a part of the shire, the charter of Henry VII. excepting it and not without some precedent. We are, therefore, reduced for the size of the Saxon burh to an area of about three-fifths of a mile by two-fifths of a mile, that is to the area of Legecestria, now called Chester, which Ethelred and his countess restored, after it was destroyed by the Danes; but, contrary to Saxon custom, enclosing the castle within the encircling walls. We ought, therefore, to subtract the castle and precincts and the other assumed addition of Ethelred and Elfleda—that is, that portion from Nicholas Street to the Watergate and from the canal to Whitefriars, and we have left but the area originally enclosed by the Romans in the constructural area of the camp of date from A.D. 23 to A.D. 193, and which roughly extended from the canal outside the Northgate to a little beyond Whitefriars, and from the east walls to Saint Nicholas Street, embracing an area of about eighty-six acres. It may, therefore, I think, be accepted that as far as the account in *Domesday* is concerned, we have two burghs, the earl's within the walls, governed by the earl's minister; the bishop's burgh in the vicinity of St. John's; a city, including the former but not the latter (except for rating for Danegeld); a castle included within the walls by Ethelred and strengthened by William the Conqueror, who yet retained dominion by means of the king's provost, and received fines and forfeitures to the extent of two-thirds of all levied. With a few facts and surmises relating to the see of Chester, and the possessions belonging to the bishopric, but which I think bear upon the question, we will close this already too lengthy paper. Whatever may have been the area of the Saxon see and the extent of the bishop's possessions, it is a matter of history that during the Norman period the bishop's

chair was placed in St. John's Church in 1075, by Peter, Bishop of Lichfield, but afterwards in the conventual Church of St. Werburgh, the present Cathedral; after Peter's death his successor, Robert de Limesi, removed his see from Chester to the monastery of Coventry; after that the dean and prebends of St. John's had not any voice in the election of the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, although every Bishop of Coventry down to the 21 Henry VII. was styled Bishop of Chester. Roger, Bishop of Chester, Coventry, and Lichfield (1132–1146), Chancellor of England, waived all claims to the precedence which churchmen arrogated over temporal peers, and signed after the earl as the local sovereign. This may have been brought about by the liberal gifts of the Earls of Chester—Hugo Comes and Ranulphus Meschin—to the abbey church of Shrewsbury, the former founding the abbey there (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, 201*b*, 26): "Et notandum quod Hugo Comes Cestriæ fuit fundator ejusdem in anno 1087 et anno 20 Willi Conquestoris;" and by the latter liberally giving the manors and rights in Garston, Walton, Newton, Ulston, Pulton, Thelwell, and a moiety of the fishery of the Mersey (*Cal. Rot. Pat.*, p. 109-14); and this gift may also have had some bearing upon the extinction of the bishop's burgh in Chester.

Saturday, December 1st, 1888.

A special "Australian and New Guinea" meeting took place at the Manchester Museum, Owens College. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins presided. An unusually fine and interesting collection of Australian and New Guinea weapons of war and tools, brought together by Mr. Charles Heape, Professor Boyd Dawkins, and Mr. G. C. Yates, were exhibited on the museum tables previous to the meeting. Afterwards the members proceeded to the Natural History Lecture Theatre, and in opening the meeting,

The Chairman referred to the value of the collection that had been brought together, and drew attention to the interest attaching to the subject.

Mr. George C. Yates read a short paper on Stone Implements of Australia and New Guinea.

Mr. Charles Heape next delivered an address upon the Characteristics of Australian and New Guinea Ornament. He said two differences would be noticed in the ornaments of New Guinea and Australia. In New Guinea the pattern was formed by rectangular lines applied by incisions, while in the Australian weapons the pattern was made by being carved in relief. The Australian ornament was very much more primitive. They could not, indeed, get anything more simple than ornaments composed of lines intended to be straight. It was true that occasionally they found instruments ornamented with circles, egg shapes, and half circles, but as a rule these were found only as borders, and did not enter into the pattern in the same way as the curved lines. He exhibited two exceptions—a boomerang and a vessel—in which he said there were curved lines. Why this should be so was exceedingly difficult to conjecture. It was not because the Australian did not understand curves, because some of their weapons were made on very graceful lines; nor was it because they were wanting in artistic faculty and taste. In any case, they had painted the roofs of their caves, and they used picture writing like the bushmen and the inhabitants of North America and Tasmania. They had also made primitive sketches on bark blackened by the heat of the fire. In fact, the Australians are rather good draughtsmen in connection with this representation of men, animals, and landscape, though in ornament they showed so marked an ability of being unable to make a curve. It was a curious fact that the patterns of Egypt and Assyria show a certain amount of similarity to the patterns in use in Australia. Assyria is said to have copied Egyptian art, so that it appears as if, at any rate, it were possible that these patterns which were found in Australia may—and

were—largely used in Egypt very many years ago. The boomerang, which was not always made, as the English, as a rule, believed, to return to the thrower, was found over the whole of Australia, in the hilly parts of India, and in the tombs of Egypt. The parrying shield, a weapon used for parrying flying weapons, was found in Australia, and also in the central parts of Africa. The arguments, he thought, in favour of a close connection between these places, taking the ornamentation and weapons as a basis, would seem to be very great. Professor Huxley, sixteen years ago, had stated that the Astraloid races were found in Australia, Egypt, and part of India (Hahr). He (Mr. Heape) described in detail the various methods employed in the use of colours by the natives of Australia, dividing the continent into three parts—North, West, and Victoria. Differences were to be found in the formation of shields, boomerangs, throw sticks, and spears; and the ornaments also differed, though to a less degree. A curious fact in connection with the ornaments of northern Australia was that the figures of women had never been carved on the weapons used. The colours used were largely red, yellow, black, and white. The ornaments and weapons of New Zealand were found to be of the same character as those of New Guinea, but carved and worked in a rather higher stage of perfection. The most remarkable point, he concluded, in connection with the question of ornamentation was the way in which places which are near together had dissimilar ornaments, while places very far apart had very similar ornaments. Between the northern part of Australia and New Guinea the strait was only eighty miles wide, yet the ornaments of New Guinea were as dissimilar to those of Australia as could well be. On the other hand the ornaments of New Zealand were very similar to those of New Guinea, although the distance between these two places was from seven hundred to eight hundred miles.

The Chairman said it seemed to him that the reason why Australian art was so much composed of red lines was

simply because it was one of the lowest arts of which we know, the Australian civilisation being right away at the bottom of all things. Red lines might be said to have been used throughout the whole of north and south America, and, as far as he knew, throughout the whole of the Old World. Throughout the Bronze Age combinations in red were to be found in singular beauty and abundance. Even if they came to modern times they found on the Runic crosses similar combinations to those of the Australian natives. As to the question of the identity of the Egyptians and others to the Astraloid races, Professor Huxley had shown that the skulls of the Australian and of the hill tribes of India were practically of the same shape, but when he extended his generalisation to the Egyptians the evidence was not quite as clear as they could wish it to be. He did not know that the skull type of the Australian had ever been found among the Egyptians, and he did not think they were quite justified in associating the ancient Egyptians, with all their magnificent civilisation, with some unfortunate savages of Australia.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon moved, and the Rev. E. F. Letts seconded a vote of thanks to the Governors of Owens College for allowing the members to meet in the Museum. This was cordially carried, and the company adjourned for tea, which had been provided in the Refectory.

Tuesday, December 4th, 1888.

WINTER CONVERSAZIONE.

The annual conversazione of the Society was held at the Manchester Town Hall. The Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Alderman Batty) was in the chair, and was supported by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. At half-past six refreshment was served to the members, and at seven there was a reception by the Mayor and Mayoress.

Afterwards a lecture was given by Mr. J. Theodore Bent, F.S.A., on Customs and Myths amongst the Modern Greeks. The address, which dealt with many customs now observed by the inhabitants of the Greek islands having a very ancient origin, was most interesting, and was listened to with the greatest attention. From a residence of seven years amongst the various islands of the Egean Sea, Mr. Bent had collected a vast fund of information on their methods of agriculture, and the numerous festivals connected therewith in order to propitiate the gods, also the customs observed at birth, marriages, and deaths. The following is one of the curious charms mentioned by the lecturer. Eagle charm: Three men go to three virgins called Maria, and from each get a piece of silk on a Wednesday or Friday, and at midnight when a north wind is blowing they meet without speaking, and select a wild olive tree from which the sea cannot be seen; they then say the following incantation: Jesus Christ assembled his guests, and all the saints were bidden. All the saints eat or drank except St. Mammas, who neither eat nor drank (St. Mammas = pan). The Lord Christ asked him, What is the matter with you, my little Mammas, that you neither eat nor drink and only glorify God. The lambs and kids are wild. I have fed them in silver troughs, and the good bird the eagle has come down and taken them from me. The Lord Christ answered, Is there not a baptised man incensed and passed before the saints to take silk and bind his wings? They then bind a bit of silk to the tree, saying "that his beak may be bound," the second bit "that his talons may be bound," and the third bit "that all the birds of the air and all the vermin may be bound and fly to the mountain to feed on their own."

At the close of the address Professor Dawkins made a few observations, expressing the pleasure which the lecturer's remarks had afforded him.

The Rev. C. G. K. Gillespie asked for information respecting the Greek Saint Nicholas, who in England and throughout northern Europe is regarded as the children's

saint, whose annual visit as Santa Claus is so anxiously looked forward to at this time of the year.

St. Nicholas, or Neptune, as he is called, said Mr. Bent, is the patron saint of children in Greece, for every child when but a few days old was taken and laid naked on a marble slab at the feet of the saint, and the saint's protection invoked.

Alderman W. H. Bailey moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Bent, which was seconded by Mr. Francis Smith, and carried unanimously.

A similar vote was accorded the Mayor for the use of the Town Hall and for his presence that evening, on the motion of Mr. Leo Grindon, seconded by Mr. Leonard Tatham.

Many objects of antiquarian and literary interest were exhibited, amongst them being a valuable collection of ancient miniatures, Roman, Greek, and Egyptian pottery and idols, old prints, chap books, broadsides, local newspapers, books, deeds, arms, and armour. The contributors were Messrs. Oxley, Grimshaw, Roeder, Harrison, Schwabe, Hutton, Faulder, Nicholson, W. Ford-Smith, Esdaile, and George C. Yates.

Friday, December 7th, 1888.

A meeting was held in the Reading Room of Chetham's College. Mr. J. Holme-Nicholson, M.A., presided.

Exhibits.—Mr. Thomas Letherbrow, Painting of Runcorn Old Parish Church, and a book of his original drawings. Mr. Esdaile, Rubbings of brasses. Mr. Thomas Hughes, F.S.A., MS. list of mayors of Chester from 1300 to 1316, with many local notes believed to have been compiled by Mr. Edward Whitley, a former town clerk of Chester. Mr. Faithwaite, An indenture of apprenticeship, 1725. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman, An Intended Guyde for English Travailers, &c., 1625. Mr. George C. Yates, Lancashire and Cheshire tokens. Mr. A. Nicholson, Drawing of a supposed Roman Road near Eastham.

Mr. Charles W. Sutton read a short communication upon Dr. Samuel Bolton, contributed by the Rev. J. Ingle Dredge, vicar of Buckland Brewer, Devonshire (see p. 67).

Dr. H. Colley March read a paper explanatory of a New Theory of Stone Circles (see p. 98).

The Chairman and the Rev. S. H. Parkes, Mr. Robert Langton, and Mr. T. Cann Hughes took part in a short conversation upon the paper.

The Rev. E. F. Letts. M.A., read a paper on the Warden Stanley Brass and the Stanley Chapel in Manchester Cathedral (see p. 151).

New members elected: Miss Emma C. Abraham, Miss Clara Hornby, Rev. C. E. Little, and Mr. Walter J. Redford.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council, in presenting the sixth Annual Report to the members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, have satisfaction in being able to congratulate them on the results of the year just closed.

MEETINGS.—During the year eight winter and ten summer meetings have been held, all of which have been well attended. In Whit-week the members had a four-days' excursion to Newcastle-on-Tyne, the Roman Wall, Lanercost Priory, and Naworth Castle. The following is a list of other summer meetings and visits: 1. Castlefield, Manchester ("An Evening in Roman Manchester"). 2. Adlington Hall and Prestbury Church. 3. Wardley Hall. 4. Speke Hall and Hale. 5. Chester. 6. Siddington Church and Hall, Marton Church and Hall, Marton Oak, and Thorneycroft Hall. 7. Tideswell Church, Eyam Church and Hall, and Cucklett Dell. 8. Mouslow and Melandra Castles. 9. Trafford Hall and Park. 10. Art Museum at Ancoats Old Hall. 11. Manchester Museum at Owens College.

CONVERSAZIONE.—The Annual Conversazione was held on December 4th in the Mayor's Parlour of the Manchester Town Hall, which was kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by the Mayor (Mr. Alderman Batty), who presided on the occasion. Mr. J. Theodore Bent, F.S.A., gave a most interesting address on "Customs and Myths amongst the Modern Greeks" and illustrated it by a series of native costumes and other objects. On the tables

were displayed many interesting Greek, Roman, and Egyptian antiquities, books, engravings, ivory miniatures, and Esquimaux and other curiosities.

PAPERS.—The following papers, addresses, and other communications have been made to the Society:—

Feb. 3.—Some Oldham Provincialisms. Mr. Samuel Andrew.
,, 3.—The Geographical Origin of the Roman Troops serving in Britain. Mr. George Esdaile.
,, 3.—The Execution of John Hewitt, D.D., of Eccles. Mr. Bulkeley.
,, 3.—Tinder Boxes and Strike-a-lights. Mr. G. C. Yates.
Mar. 2.—The Cup and Ring Stones on the Panorama Rocks, Ilkley. Mr. N. Heywood.
,, 2.—An Obscure Funeral Custom. Mr. R. Langton.
,, 2.—Wenlock Priory. Mr. T. Locke Worthington.
April 6.—Notes on the Early Booksellers and Stationers of Manchester prior to the Year 1700. J. P. Earwaker.
,, 6.—The Moravians in Lancashire and Cheshire. Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman.
,, 6.—Recent Discoveries in the Ribble Valley. Mr. W. H. Heathcote.
May 11.—Roman Manchester. Mr. G. Esdaile.
,, 12.—Adlington Hall. Dr. Renaud.
,, 23 to 26.—Newcastle-on-Tyne and the Roman Wall. Rev. Dr. Collingwood Bruce and Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A.
June 4.—Wardley Hall. Mr. G. C. Yates.
,, 4.—Spanish Armada: Local Contributors. Mr. G. Esdaile.
,, 30.—Speke Hall. Sir J. A. Picton, F.S.A.
July 14.—Chester: Addresses. Messrs. T. Hughes, Alderman Brown, Ewen, Rev. S. C. Scott, Archdeacon Barber.
,, 28.—Addresses: Siddington Hall, Marton Church and Hall. Mr. James Croston.
Aug. 6.—The Plague at Eyam. Mr. G. C. Yates.
,, 6.—Tideswell Church. Canon Andrew.
,, 25.—Melandra and Mouslow Castles. Mr. Thomas Barlow.
Sep. 3.—Address. Mr. T. C. Horsfall.
Oct. 6.—Address at Owens College. Professor W. Boyd Dawkins.
,, 12.—Opening Address. Mr. William E. A. Axon.
,, 12.—Henry Ainsworth, the Puritan Commentator. Mr. William E. A. Axon.
,, 12.—Lancashire and Cheshire Admissions to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, 1558 to 1678. Mr. E. Axon.
Nov. 2.—Commons Inclosures in Lancashire and Cheshire in the Eighteenth Century. Mr. William Harrison.
,, 2.—The Burghs in Chester. Mr. G. Esdaile.
Dec. 1.—Australian and New Guinea Stone Implements. Mr. G. C. Yates.
,, 1.—The Characteristics of Australian and New Guinea Ornament. Mr. C. Heape.
,, 4.—Customs and Myths amongst the Modern Greeks. Mr. J. Theodore Bent.

Dec. 7.—The Warden Stanley Brass and Stanley Chapel in Manchester Cathedral. Rev. E. F. Letts.

,, 7.—A New Theory of Stone Circles. Dr. H. Colley March.

,, 7.—Samuel Bolton, D.D. Rev. J. Ingle Dredge.

The Council of the Society of Antiquaries having invited this Society, amongst others, to send a deputation to attend a conference in London, for the purpose of considering a project for affiliating the various antiquarian societies of the country and for combined and more systematic work, Mr. R. Langton, on behalf of this Society, attended the conference, which was held on November 15th, 1888, at the apartments of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House. Amongst other proposals which were brought forward was one by Dr. Hodgkin, that a series of archæological handbooks should be undertaken and printed by the local antiquarian societies, setting forth the chief monuments of antiquity and objects of antiquarian research in the several districts. Finally a committee was appointed to consider the whole question and to report to a later conference.

MEMBERSHIP.—During the year sixteen members have joined the Society; three members have been lost by death, and thirteen by resignation and other causes. The total number of members is now three hundred and seven, made up of five Honorary, forty-eight Life, and two hundred and fifty-four Ordinary Members.

The Society has lost two of its most distinguished members, both of whom have died in comparatively early life, and of whom brief notices are here given.

Mr. William Thompson Watkin died at Liverpool on 23rd March, 1888, aged fifty-one. He was born at Salford on 15th October, 1836, and after the death of his father in 1848 lived at Liverpool, where for many years he engaged in mercantile pursuits. His interest in Roman archæology was evinced in early youth, but it was not until 1871 that he began to write on the subject, after which date his contributions to antiquarian journals were constant. His important work on *Roman Lancashire* was published in 1883, and the companion volume on *Roman Cheshire* in 1886. Mr. Watkin, who was a member of the Council, took the deepest interest in the Society, and so long as his health permitted was a regular attendant at its meetings.*

* A list of Mr. Watkin's writings is given at p. 173.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., died on 23rd August, 1888, aged forty-eight. He was born at Edgbaston, Birmingham, on 13th February, 1840, but came to Lancashire as a child, and was educated at the Warrington Grammar School. After leaving school he entered the service of a well-known firm of merchants in Manchester, with whom he continued until a short time before his death. A natural taste for literature and antiquities was deepened by the knowledge he obtained at the evening classes at Owens College, and by his extensive reading and observation. The fertility he displayed in his various writings was not less remarkable than his rigid accuracy and literary grace. He was an early member of the Society, and one of the Council up to the time of his death. He was a frequent and ever-valued contributor to the proceedings, and no member was more popular at its meetings and excursions. A detailed list of Mr. Bailey's writings has been prepared by Mr. Ernest Axon, and will be printed in the *Transactions*. It may not be out of place to quote here the following graceful tribute to his memory by Professor Ward, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* :—

"Sir,—On the point of leaving England for a holiday, I find in your paper the mournful intelligence of the death of Mr. John Eglington Bailey. This is my only excuse for addressing you, as it will be impossible for me to ask permission to join in paying the last tribute of respect to this eminent Manchester scholar and man of letters. My acquaintance with him began many years ago in the Owens College evening classes; nor have I ever lectured to a student from whom I have learnt so much. Since that time my experience of Mr. Bailey has been that of all who, at whatever interval, were engaged in pursuits cognate to his own. With the unfailing instinct of a true friend of learning, he seemed to divine what special incidental results of his unwearying researches would have a particular value for an individual fellow-student, and in communicating them with constant readiness he showed that true liberality and generosity of spirit which is the noblest moral feature in a born scholar. My connection with the Victoria University forbids my forgetting how it was he that discovered and made public an interesting historical precedent for the idea of its foundation—a fact to which, I remember, Dr. Greenwood made graceful reference in a speech delivered by him as Vice-Chancellor.

Doubtless many tributes will be paid to Mr. Bailey's indefatigable services in the Chetham Society, of which he was so long a chief pillar, and elsewhere; and the biographer of Fuller has a permanent place assured to him among the worthies of English literature. But I feel certain that there will be many who, like myself, will remember Mr. Bailey with a sense of personal gratitude as well as of sincere admiration, due to a literary life of single-minded zeal and rare unselfishness.—I am, &c. "A. W. WARD."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—The hearty thanks of the Society are due to the feoffees of Chetham's Hospital for their continued kindness in allowing the use of their Reading Room for the winter meetings, and of a room for the Council meetings; to the authorities of Owens College for permitting the Society to hold two meetings in the College buildings; and to the Ancoats Museum Committee for giving the use of Ancoats Old Hall for a meeting.

Grateful acknowledgments are also due for courtesies and hospitality afforded by Mr. George Howard, of Naworth Castle; Miss Watt, of Speke Hall; Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart.; and to Professor Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., one of the vice-presidents of the Society; to Dr. Collingwood Bruce, F.S.A., and Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., the secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne, for valuable help during the Roman Wall excursion; and the members of the Chester Local Committee, through whose exertions the Chester meeting was made so successful.

Mr. C. W. Sutton has again, at the request of the Council, kindly undertaken to edit the annual volume of *Transactions*. The Council tender their grateful acknowledgments to him, to Mr. Yates, the Honorary Secretary, and to Mr. Copinger, the Honorary Treasurer, for their valuable services.

In conclusion, the Council again express the hope that the members generally will continue to co-operate, with increasing zeal, in the work in which all are so greatly interested, respecting which so much remains to be done—the study and elucidation of the records of the past.

W. A. COPINGER (HON. TREASURER) IN ACCOUNT WITH THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Dr. *General Statement of Income and Expenditure from 1st January to December 31st, 1888.* **Cr.**

1888. Jan. 1st.	£	s.	d.
To Balance at Bankers	57	6	4
,, 1 Subscription at 10s. £0 10 0			
,, 188 Subscriptions at 10s. 6d. 98 14 0			
,, 13 ,, at £1. 1s. 13 13 0			
,, 12 ,, at £1. 11s. 6d. 18 18 0			
,, 1 ,, at £2. 2s. 2 2 0			
,, 2 Life Members at £7. 7s. 14 14 0			
,, 1 Life Member and Entrance Fee 8 8 0			
	156	19	0
,, Interest on £200 invested with the Manchester Corporation at 3½ per cent	6	6	5
,, Interest allowed by Bankers	1	3	4
	£221	15	1

1888. Jan. 1st.	£	s.	d.
By A. Ireland and Co., Printing Society's Annual Volume, *Transactions and Proceedings*, volume v.	118	14	0
,, Expenses at Winter and Summer Meetings, and Sundries	28	15	0
,, Postages, &c.	15	13	9
,, J. Roberts and Sons, General Printing and Stationery.	7	11	3
,, Reporters	5	0	0
,, F. Finch, Large Picture Stand	3	10	0
,, Clerical Help	5	5	0
,, Bank Commission, &c.	0	8	11
,, Collector's Commission	2	14	7
,, Cash (Subscriptions) in hands of Collector	23	1	6
,, Balance at Bankers	11	1	1
	£221	15	1

	£	s.	d.
Invested with Manchester Corporation at 3½ per cent ...	200	0	0
Amount owing by Collector	23	1	6
Balance at Bankers	11	1	1
	£234	2	7

Audited and found correct,
R. PEEL,
J. R. FAITHWAITE, } *Auditors.*

18th January, 1889.

RULES.

(Revised January 28th, 1887.)

1. PREAMBLE.—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. NAME, &C.—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. ELECTION OF MEMBERS.—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall report to the next ordinary meeting the names of such candidates. At the next ordinary meeting thereafter following, the names of all the candidates so reported shall be put to the meeting for election as the first business following the reading and confirmation, or otherwise, of the minutes of the preceding meeting, and the election shall be determined by common assent or dissent, unless a ballot shall be called for in the case of any one or more of the candidates by any member then present. In case of ballot one black ball in five shall exclude. During the period of the year when the ordinary meetings are suspended, the Council shall have power to invite to general meetings any candidate whom they have resolved to recommend for election at the next ordinary meeting. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription;

and if the same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention on or before the 30th day of November, in that year.

4. HONORARY MEMBERS.—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. HONORARY LOCAL SECRETARIES.—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. SUBSCRIPTIONS.—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. ENTRANCE FEE.—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of one guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. LIFE MEMBERSHIP.—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. GOVERNMENT.—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, in addition to the Past-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may

be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. MODE OF ELECTING OFFICERS OTHER THAN THE AUDITORS.—The Council shall in each year prepare a list of a sufficient number of members to fill the several offices becoming vacant at the close of the year. Any member desiring to nominate a member or members for election to any office in the Society, other than that of Auditor, shall send in the name or names of such persons, with their addresses, to the Honorary Secretary, in writing, not less than twenty-one days before the date of the annual meeting, such document being signed by himself as proposer and one other member as seconder. The Honorary Secretary shall send by post to every member whose address is known to him, not later than fourteen days before the meeting, an alphabetical list of all persons so nominated, including those nominated by the Council, with their addresses, and the names and addresses of their proposers and seconders, except those nominated by the Council, which shall be distinguished by an asterisk following their names. The election of officers shall take place at the annual meeting. In case of contest the election shall be by ballot.

11. RETIRING PRESIDENT.—Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council, and become a Vice-President.

12. DUTIES OF OFFICERS.—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence among speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council

and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular, if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a Report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. ANNUAL MEETING.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. ORDINARY MEETINGS.—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester, at 6-15 p.m., on the *first Friday* of each month from *October* to *April* for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. GENERAL MEETINGS.—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16. EXPLORATION AND EXCAVATION.—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. PUBLICATIONS.—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back volumes of the Transactions and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. PROPERTY.—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. INTERPRETATION CLAUSE.—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. ALTERATION OF RULES.—These rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
December 7th, 1888.	Abraham, Miss E. C., Grassendale Park, near Liverpool.
September 4th, 1883.	Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Agnew, W., J.P., Summer Hill, Pendleton.
July 26th, 1884.	Ainsworth, R. H., J.P., Smithills Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Frank, J.P., Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne.
June 11th, 1886.	Andrew, J. D., Town Hall, Ardwick.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883.	Andrew, Walter J., Moss Side, Ashton-under-Lyne.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Mossley.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James, The Avenue, Patricroft.
March 21st, 1883.	Anson, Ven. Archdeacon G. H. G., M.A., Birch Rectory, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886.	Arning, Charles, jun., Fern Lea, 199, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883.	Arnold, W. T., M.A., 75, Nelson Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	Ashby, Henry, M.D., M.R.C.S., 13, St. John Street, Manchester.
April 15th, 1885.	*Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
December 4th, 1885.	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury.
April 14th, 1885.	Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Bolton.
November 5th, 1886.	Attkins, Edgar, 33, Princess Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., 66, Murray Street, Higher Broughton.
October 12th, 1888.	Axon, Ernest, 66, Murray Street, Higher Broughton.

March 5th, 1886. Bagshaw, Thomas, Eccles New Road, Salford.
March 21st, 1883. Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A., Stretford. (Deceased.)
June 13th, 1885. Bailey, Mrs. John E., Stretford.
March 21st, 1883. *Bailey, Alderman W. H., Summerfield, Eccles New Road, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Baillie, Edmund J., F.L.S., Chester.
June 10th, 1886. Ball, Thomas, Eccles.
January 11th, 1884. Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.
June 17th, 1884. Barlow, Miss, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton-le-Moors.
June 13th, 1885. Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Barraclough, Thomas, 8, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Bateman, C. T. Tallent, Cromwell Road, Stretford.
April 14th, 1885. Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. Baugh, Mrs., Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. *Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Heaton Norris.
July 30th, 1885. Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles.
June 26th, 1883. Baynton, Alfred, Gilda Brook Park, Eccles.
January 29th, 1885. Berry, Charles F. Walton, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
December 7th, 1883. Berry, James, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
July 31st, 1886. Booth, James, Ebor College, Byrom Street, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bradbury, John, F.R.S.L., Palatine Bridge, Victoria Street, Manchester.
June 26th, 1883. Bradsell, B. J. T., 12, Oswald Street, Hulme.
March 21st, 1883. Bridgen, Thomas Edward, Oaklynne, Fallowfield.
November 5th, 1886. Brimelow, William, 153, Park Road, Bolton.
May 7th, 1885. *Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
October 7th, 1887. Brooke, Alexander, Muswell Hill Road, Highgate.
September 28th, 1883. Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester.
March 5th, 1886. Buckley, George F., Linfitts House, Delph, Oldham.
May 22nd, 1886. Bulkeley, E. W., F.R.H.S., *Advertiser* Office, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Burton, Alfred, Ack Lane, Cheadle Hulme.
October 8th, 1886. Bury, Judson S., M.D., Pendleton.
December 2nd, 1887. *Butcher, S. F., Bury.

March 21st, 1883. Carington, H. H. Smith, Stanley Grove, Oxford Road, Manchester.
May 2nd, 1885. Carr, William, The Hollies, Newton Heath.
April 26th, 1889. Charlton, Samuel, Sunny Bank, Eccles.
October 8th, 1886. *Chesson, Rev. William H., Monton Road, Eccles.

March 21st, 1883. Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, The Elms, Roehampton, S.W.
March 21st, 1883. Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886. Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield.
September 4th, 1883. Colley, A. H. Davis, A.R.I.B.A., 48, King Street, Manchester.
December 3rd, 1886. *Collier, Edward, 74, Yarburgh Street, Moss Side.
January 11th, 1884. Collmann, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Copinger, W. A., F.S.A., The Priory, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884. Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool.
January 7th, 1887. Cox, George F., 26, Cathedral Yard, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. †Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Creeke, Major A. B., Monkholme, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883. Crofton, Rev. Addison, M.A., The Parsonage, Reddish Green, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Crofton, H. T., 86, Brazennose Street, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886. *Crompton, Alfred, jun., Dunsters, Bury.
March 21st, 1883. Croston, James, F.S.A., Upton Hall, Prestbury.
March 21st, 1883. Crowther, Joseph S., Endsleigh, Alderley Edge.
October 7th, 1887. Curnick, H. D., Glendale, Alderley Edge.

March 21st, 1883. Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Darbyshire, Alfred, F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883. *Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
November 2nd, 1883. Dearden, J. Griffith, Wytham-on-the-Hill, Bourne.
March 21st, 1883. *Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.C.L., F.R.S., Knowsley, Prescot.
April 1st, 1887. De Trafford, Sir Humphrey F., Bart., Trafford Park, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London.
May 4th, 1883. Doody, C. C., Cannon Street, Manchester.
January 15th, 1886. Duncan, James, M.B., 24, Richmond Street, Ashton-under-Lyne.

March 21st, 1883. Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele.
October 8th, 1886. *Eastwood, J. A., 49, Princess Street, Manchester.
January 29th, 1885. Ecroyd, William, Spring Cottage, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883. Egerton, Hon. Algernon, Worsley Old Hall, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. *Egerton, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford.
June 11th, 1886. *Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883. Esdaile, George, The Old Rectory, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
March 21st, 1883. *Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
March 21st, 1883. *Evans, Joseph, Hurst House, Prescot. (Deceased.)

May 4th, 1883. Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank, Mosley Street.
March 21st, 1883. ffarington, Miss, Worden, Preston.
March 21st, 1883. Faulder, W. Wareing, Ellerslie, Cheetham Hill.
December 5th, 1884. Finney, James, Solicitor, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Height, Rochdale.
October 8th, 1886. Fletcher, Dr. Richard, Gt. Clowes Street, Broughton.
March 31st, 1885. *Foljambe, Cecil G. Saville, M.P., F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark.
July 31st, 1886. Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton.
February 6th, 1885. French, Gilbert J., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885. French, Mrs., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885. French, Miss K., Newport Square, Bolton.
December 9th, 1886. *Frost, Robert, B.Sc., Bright Side, Altrincham.

May 4th, 1883. Gadd, Very Rev. Monsignor, St. Bede's College, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Gill, Richard, *Examiner* Office, Manchester.
December 2nd, 1887. Gillibrand, W., M.R.C.S., Parkfield House, Chorley Road, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Gillespie, Rev. Charles G. K., 39, Hall St., Stockport.
December 7th, 1883. Goldschmidt, Philip, Oldenburg House, Rusholme. (Deceased.)
May 4th, 1883. Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side.
May 7th, 1885. Gradwell, Very Rev. Mgr., Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
March 21st, 1883. Grafton, F. W., Heysham Hall.
February 6th, 1885. Grafton, Francis, Sunnyside, Lancaster Road, Eccles.
January 11th, 1884. Grafton, Miss, Heysham Hall.
March 21st, 1883. Gratrix, Samuel, West Point, Whalley Range.
January 11th, 1884. Gray, Henry, 47, Leicester Square, London.
September 18th, 1885. Greenhough, R., jun., Church Street, Leigh.
March 21st, 1883. Greenwood, J. G., LL.D., The Owens College, Manchester.
April 2nd, 1886. *Grimshaw, William, Sale.
July 25th, 1885. *Guest, William H., 57, King Street, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886. Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883. Hadfield, E., Swinton.
November 7th, 1884. Hall, James, 79, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Hall, Major G. W., Town Hall, Salford.
October 9th, 1885. Hampson, Francis, Platt Cottage, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886. Hand, Thomas W., Free Library, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883. Hardwick, Charles, 72, Talbot Street, Moss Side. (Deceased.)
November 2nd, 1888. Harper, Jno., 25, Victoria Road, Fallowfield.
February 6th, 1885. Harrison, William, 112, Lansdowne Road, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. *Hartington, Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P., Devonshire House, London.
March 21st, 1883. Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Heape, Joseph R., 96, Tweedale Street, Rochdale.
June 13th, 1885. Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan.
March 31st, 1885. Heathcote, Wm. Hy., East View, Preston.
May 4th, 1883. Heginbotham, Henry, J.P., Stockport.
June 11th, 1886. Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., 8, Wardie Road, Edinburgh.
September 4th, 1883. Hewitson, Anthony, *Chronicle* Office, Preston.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Oliver, J.P., Claremont, Manchester.
June 17th, 1884. Hodgson, Edwin, 17, Thirlmere Street, Cheetham.
October 8th, 1886. Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton.
December 7th, 1888. Hornby, Miss Clara, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.
January 11th, 1884. *Houldsworth, Sir W. H., M.P., Norbury Booths Hall, Knutsford.
March 7th, 1884. Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. Scot., Stamford Terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne.
March 21st, 1883. Howorth, Henry H., M.P., F.S.A., Bentcliffe, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Hughes, Charles, Cheetwood House, Manchester.
March 4th, 1887. Hughes, T. Cann, B.A., 14, George Street, Moss Side.
March 21st, 1883. Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton.
October 7th, 1887. Hunter, Mrs., 1, St. Bede's Terrace, Sunderland.
December 2nd, 1887. Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., 28, Chorley New Road, Bolton.

June 11th, 1886. Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.

November 5th, 1886. Jackson, Miss E. S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
May 4th, 1883. Jackson, S., Burnside, Calder Vale, Garstang.
December 3rd, 1886. Jones, Rev. Harry Thompson, M.A., St. Stephen's Rectory, Salford.
September 28th, 1883. Johnson, J. H., F.G.S., 73, Albert Road, Southport.
January 21st, 1886. Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
May 2nd, 1885. *Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
March 4th, 1887. Johnstone, Rev. Thomas Boston, M.A., 116, Chorley New Road, Bolton.

February 8th, 1889. Jordan, J. J., Manchester and Salford Bank, St. Ann Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883. Jordan, Thomas L., M.R.C.S., 14, Lorne Road, Fallowfield.

May 2nd, 1885. Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley.
March 21st, 1883. Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
June 11th, 1886. *Kay, Thomas, J.P., Hillgate, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Langton, Robert, F.R.H.S., Albert Chambers, Manchester.
October 12th, 1888. Larmuth, George H., The Grange, Handforth.
March 21st, 1883. *Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W.
March 21st, 1883. *Lawton, Josh. F., J.P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
July 18th, 1885. *Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range.
December 7th, 1883. Leech, Miss M. L., Reede House, Flixton.
April 26th, 1889. Lees, John W., Greengate, Chadderton, Oldham.
May 4th, 1883. Lees, William, Egerton Villa, Heywood.
December 4th, 1885. Letherbrow, Thomas, Lyme View, Norbury Moor, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath.
June 11th, 1886. *Lever, Ellis, Culcheth Hall, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. *Lister, Charles, J.P., Agden Hall, Lymm.
December 7th, 1888. Little, Rev. C. E., 2, Queen's Terrace, Old Trafford.
March 21st, 1883. Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Lowe, John, F.R.I.B.A., 22, Mansfield Chambers, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.
January 11th, 1889. Lowe, Rev. Charles, Trinity Vicarage, Bolton.
September 4th, 1883. *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London.

August 15th, 1885. *Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble.
October 7th, 1887. Manners, Thomas Hy., Cedar Villas, Mauldeth Road, Heaton Mersey.
March 21st, 1883. March, H. Colley, M.D., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
May 20th, 1885. March, Mrs., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Martin, William Young, M.D., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton.
July 31st, 1886. Martin, Mrs., The Limes, Walkden. (Deceased.)

November 5th, 1886. Massey, Arthur W., 27, Ackers Street, Chorlton-on-Medlock.
November 18th, 1884. Miller, William Pitt, Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
March 21st, 1883. Milner, George, 49a, Mosley Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Moorhouse, Frederick, Kingston Mount, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Morris, Claude J., The Mount, Altrincham.
October 7th, 1887. Morton, Miss, 9, Stanley Terrace, Stamford Street, Old Trafford.

March 21st, 1883. Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton.
October 7th, 1887. *Neville, Charles, Bramhall Hall, Stockport.
June 26th, 1883. Newton, C. E., Timperley Lane, Altrincham.
September 4th, 1883. Nicholson, Albert, The Old Manor House, Sale.
March 21st, 1883. Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Whitefield, Wilmslow.
March 21st, 1883. Norbury, William, Morley Cottage, Leigh.

July 26th, 1884. Oakley, Frank, The Deanery, Manchester.
May 20th, 1885. Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, M.A., Horton, Bowdon.
May 22nd, 1886. Odgers, Mrs., Horton, Bowdon.
April 16th, 1886. †Owen, John, Kennedy Grave Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
April 2nd, 1886. *Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Alton Lodge, Hartley Wintney, Winchfield, Hants.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, H. M., 97, Bridge Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, Thomas, Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
April 26th, 1889. Oxley, Mrs., Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.

July 26th, 1884. Paley, E. G., F.R.I.B.A., Lancaster.
May 22nd, 1886. Parkes, Rev. S. H., B.A., F.R.A.S., Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Parkinson, Richard, Barr Hill, Pendleton.
February 8th, 1889. Partington, J. Edge, Sarratt Hall, Rickmansworth.
February 5th, 1886. Pattinson, J. P., M.A., 11a, Piccadilly.
October 8th, 1886. *Peace, Maskell William, 18, King Street, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Pearson, George, Southside, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pearson, Henry, Union Bank, Salford.
September 4th, 1883. *Pearson, Thomas, Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
May 4th, 1883. Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pike, C. F., Bella Vista, Lostock Road, Urmston.
September 4th, 1883. Pilkington, Alfred, Oakwood, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Pocklington, Rev. J. N., M.A., St. Michael's Rectory, Hulme.
July 25th, 1885. Posnett, W. A., Park View, Chorley, Lancashire.
March 5th, 1886. Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme.
October 7th, 1887. Pullinger, William, Queen's Road, Oldham.

April 2nd, 1886. Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range.

April 14th, 1885.	Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe.
December 7th, 1888.	Redford, Walter J., Spring Place, Little Lever.
October 17th, 1884.	Reid, David, Bowerbank, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883.	Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge.
May 4th, 1883.	Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., St. Mark's Rectory, Cheetham Hill.
March 21st, 1883.	*Ridehalgh, Lieut.-Col. J.P., Fell Foot, Newby Bridge.
December 7th, 1883.	Rigge, George Wilson, Police Street, Manchester.
September 29th, 1884.	Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Madeley, Newcastle, Staff.
June 11th, 1886.	Robertson, John, Stoneleigh, Lees, Oldham.
December 22nd, 1884.	Robinow, Max, Hawthornden House, Palatine Road, Didsbury.
September 4th, 1883.	Robinson, John, 56, Church Street, Eccles.
May 2nd, 1885.	*Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley.
February 4th, 1887.	Roeder, Charles, Emsee Cottage, Amhurst Street, Derby Road, Fallowfield.
July 26th, 1884.	*Roper, W. O., Lancaster.
May 4th, 1883.	Rowbotham, G. H., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.
April 22nd, 1884.	Rudd, John, Sale Road, Northenden.
March 21st, 1883.	Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden.
March 21st, 1883.	*Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington.
May 4th, 1883.	Sales, Henry H., 68, Greame Street, Whalley Range.
May 4th, 1883.	Sandbach, J. E., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
December 7th, 1883.	Scholes, James C., 46, Newport Street, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Schou, Nicolai C., 40, South King Street, Manchester.
April 14th, 1885.	*Schwabe, Charles, Glenthorne, Whalley Range.
October 9th, 1885.	Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey.
June 26th, 1883.	Scott, Fred, 100, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Shaw, Giles, 72, Manchester Street, Oldham.
November 7th, 1884.	Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury.
November 18th, 1884.	Sherriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton.
June 26th, 1883.	Shuttleworth, John, Withington.
March 21st, 1883.	Smith, C. C., Birchfield, Swinton.
January 11th, 1884.	†Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood, Kent.
March 7th, 1884.	Smith, David, J.P., 33, Brighton Grove, Rusholme.
May 22nd, 1886.	Smith, Fredk. Ford, Lime Grove, Brooklands.
October 8th, 1886.	Smith, Thomas E., 189, St. George's Road, Bolton.

June 11th, 1886.	Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, Didsbury.
October 7th, 1887.	Smith, William, M.D., Eccles.
January 11th, 1889.	Smith, Wm. Jas., 71, Lord Street, Leigh.
April 5th, 1889.	Smithies, Harry, 367, Waterloo Road, Cheetham.
October 7th, 1887.	Southam, George Armitage, Oakfield, Pendleton.
November 18th, 1884.	Standen, Robert, 40, Palmerston Street, Moss Side.
March 21st, 1883.	Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Beech House, Knutsford.
March 21st, 1883.	Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire.
June 26th, 1883.	Steinthal, E. F. L., 81, Nelson Street, Manchester.
October 9th, 1885.	Stephenson, D., Fulshaw Lodge, Wilmslow.
June 26th, 1883.	Stern, Miss, Wynthrop, Ashton-on-Mersey.
July 26th, 1884.	*Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster.
March 21st, 1883.	†Sutton, Charles W., 14, Park View, Chorlton Road, Manchester.
October 17th, 1884.	Sutton, Richard H., 26, Princess Street, Manchester. (Deceased.)
May 4th, 1883.	Swindells, John, 38, Faulkner Street, Manchester.
April 2nd, 1886.	*Tatham, Leonard, M.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
June 1st, 1887.	Tattersall, Cornelius, Rock Bank, Eccles.
October 12th, 1888.	Tatton, Thos. E., Wythenshawe Hall.
November 7th, 1884.	Taylor, Alexander, 14, Tenterden, Bury.
March 21st, 1883.	Taylor, Henry, Braeside, Tunbridge Wells.
January 7th, 1887.	*Taylor James, Oak Leigh, Worsley Road, Swinton.
October 8th, 1886.	Taylor, J. R., Sandheys, Ashton-on-Mersey.
March 21st, 1883.	Taylor, Joshua, 277, Moorside, Droylsden.
October 12th, 1888.	Thomasson, J. S., 9a, St. Peter's Square.
September 4th, 1883.	Thornton, J. S., B.A., Victoria Park School, Manchester.
February 8th, 1889.	Thornycroft, C. E., Thornycroft Hall, Chelford.
May 4th, 1883.	Thorp, J. Walter H., Jordan Gate House, Macclesfield.
November 5th, 1886.	†Tinkler, J. E., Chetham's Library, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Tonge, Rev. Canon Richard, M.A., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883.	Toole, Very Rev. Canon Lawrence, D.D., St. Wilfrid's, Manchester.
November 2nd, 1888.	Towle, J. A., 392, Lower Broughton Road, Lower Broughton.
June 30th, 1885.	*Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Nidd Lodge, Higher Broughton.
October 8th, 1886.	*Tristram, Wm. H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton.
February 5th, 1886.	Turner, William, Westlands, Plymouth Grove.
July 31st, 1886.	Underdown, H. W., North Leigh, Whalley Range.

October 8th, 1886. Virgo, Charles G., Queen's Park, Manchester.

December 7th, 1883. Waddington, Wm. Angelo, Carlton Road, Burnley.
June 13th, 1885. Wadsworth, Christopher, Eccles.
July 31st, 1886. Wales, George Carew, Hill Top Farm, Wilmslow.
March 21st, 1883. Walter, William, M.A., M.D., 20, St. John Street, Manchester.
November 6th, 1885. Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham.
May 4th, 1883. Ward, Prof. A. W., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883. Ward, James, Leigh.
June 11th, 1886. *Waters, Edwin H., Green Bank, Langham Road, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. Watkin, W. Thompson, 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool. (Deceased.)
July 31st, 1886. Watson, W. Alfred, 18, George Street, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
October 12th, 1888. *Watt, Miss, Speke Hall, near Liverpool.
May 4th, 1883. Webb, Richard, 34, Grafton Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Wieler, Miss R. C., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
November 2nd, 1883. Wilkins, Professor A. S., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883. *Wilkinson, Thomas Read, The Polygon, Ardwick.
July 31st, 1886. Wimpory, Alfred, Altrincham.
April 14th, 1885. Wiper, William, Rock Terrace, Higher Broughton. (Deceased.)
June 26th, 1883. Wood, Joseph, 22, Victoria Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. *Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Penrhos House, Rugby.
November 18th, 1884. Woodhouse, Rev. Canon Charles W., 65, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Worthington, Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., 110, King Street, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Wright, T. Frank, The Airds, Bennett Street, Higher Crumpsall.
December 22nd, 1884. Wylie, J. H., M.A., Heybrook, Rochdale.

March 21st, 1883. †Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester.

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